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ABSTRACT

The relationship between the internal structure of the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education (GIAE) in rural Australia and the structure of the social and physical environment are considered, based on a sociological case study. A review of higher education covers the technical school system, the development of colleges of advanced education in Victoria, the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education, and the Victoria Institute of Colleges. In addition to reviewing the history, current problems, and future concerns of GIAE, attention is directed to early efforts to found new academic programs and upgrade existing courses, the establishment of the School of Education, and the introduction of the Bachelor of Arts degree. Competing paradigms of institutional management and academic decision-making are addressed, along with the influence of the region's power generation industry on the need for technological education and the structure and character of GIAE. Theoretical and methodological considerations are also discussed, including the case study method, the concepts of community and environment, evaluation research, organizational analysis, and participant observation. (SW)

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Errata

p. 76	Footnote 12 should occur after '. . . is competitive sport'.
p. 83	Sentence: 'Robertson was Manager, Power Generation . . . after 32 years of service'. should occur as main text not quoted matter.
p. 85	Sentence: 'In an interview, Hopper was asked why he was interested in the position'. should occur as main text not quoted matter.
p. 94	Sentence: 'In his letter, Robertson said that, in the light . . . 3.3 million dollars in capital funds'. should occur as main text not quoted matter.
p. 142	Top two lines should read: '. . . political process of interest articulation → policy decisions → execution → generation of new conflicts (pp. 19–26).
p. 170	For 'Greenwood (1978, 1981), . . .' read 'Greenfield (1978, 1981), . . .'.

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A STUDY OF
THE GIPPSLAND INSTITUTE
OF ADVANCED EDUCATION

V. LYNN MEEK

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Note on the author

Lynn Meek's special interests lie in the field of the sociology of 'complex organizations' and social theory and method. Dr Meek has studied in the United States and the United Kingdom, and is now a Research Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Higher Education, University of Melbourne.

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FOREWORD

This sociological case study by Dr Lynn Meek provides an in-depth organizational analysis of the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education (GIAE), a regional college of advanced education located in the Latrobe Valley in Victoria. With the aim of making an evaluative study through exploring behaviour of members of the organization in relation to structural and historical forces, Dr Meek has substantially increased our understanding about the character, functions, and role dilemmas of Australian colleges of advanced education in general, and of regional colleges in particular. He has also made an important contribution to the scholarly study of both higher education and complex organizations.

For almost two decades, colleges of advanced education have played an increasingly important part in post-secondary education in this country. Their origins go back to the Martin Report on the future of tertiary education in Australia which was presented to the Commonwealth Government in 1964, although a number of individual colleges can trace their origins back to technical institutes created late last century. The period immediately after the Second World War saw a marked increase in demand for post-secondary education. In response to pleas from state governments and the universities, the Commonwealth Government provided substantial funds to facilitate university expansion. These funds were given at first essentially on an *ad hoc* basis, but in the 1950s, on the recommendations of the Murray Committee, the government of Sir Robert Menzies made a long-term commitment to supply regular financial support to universities. At the same time, it established the Australian Universities Commission to provide it with detailed policy advice. Then in 1961, conscious of the increasing strong demands for student places, the Menzies government appointed a committee chaired by Sir Leslie Martin, the Chairman of the Universities Commission, to consider the pattern of tertiary education required for the future in relation to needs and resources available. This committee recommended not only major expansion in student places and numbers of institutions, but also diversification including development, with federal assistance, of colleges offering higher-level courses with a strongly technological and vocational emphasis. It was the colleges that were developed in line with this recommendation that soon became known as colleges of advanced education (CAEs).

It is not difficult to produce evidence to support the claim that the CAE experiment has been a success. Colleges now offer a wide variety of courses in numerous fields, and these courses are well regarded by employers and the professions as well as by students. So strong has been the student demand and community confidence that total college enrolments now exceed total university enrolments. Further, colleges have helped broaden educational opportunity and, in various ways, have helped promote greater diversity and innovation in tertiary education. On the other hand, the development of advanced education has not been without problems and tensions. As Dr Meek demonstrates, these have centred particularly around the meaning of vocationalism, the place of research in colleges, and the definition of the role of colleges in relation to universities. There have also been problems associated with what has come to be termed 'academic drift'. Although the Martin Committee envisaged that colleges would be almost entirely engaged in offering diploma and certificate courses, now almost 70 per cent of college students are enrolled in bachelor degree and postgraduate courses. This means that, in terms of course level, there is substantial overlap between the CAE and university sectors.

In an effort to widen educational opportunity and encourage decentralization of population and resources, both federal and state authorities, over the past two decades, have made special efforts to establish and encourage the development of CAEs located outside the major metropolitan areas. The result today is, in the eastern States, a group of a dozen or so lively multi-school institutions which are identified as regional colleges. Some grew from the base of senior work in a local technical college, while others developed from a state government teachers college. Some offer courses in engineering and applied science, while others do not. But what characterizes them apart from their location is their close identification with and commitment to their respective geographic regions and their efforts to maintain as broad a range of courses and modes of course delivery as possible. Their contributions in educational, social, cultural and economic terms is considerable and is widely acknowledged and appreciated, not only by inhabitants of those regions with such colleges, but by political leaders and by senior officials of tertiary education co-ordinating authorities. Particularly important has been the contribution of regional colleges in lessening educational inequalities, not only between city and country children, but also between men and women and between school leavers and adults.

This volume demonstrates clearly the value and contribution to the people and industry of the Gippsland region that the GIAE has made and continues to make. The Gippsland region is a large one, with a scattered and diverse population. It also has an unusual mixture of rural enterprise and heavy industry, based on the mining of brown coal and power generation by the State Electricity Commission (SEC). The SEC provides the power on which much of the industry of the whole of Victoria is dependent. In various ways, the GIAE has endeavoured to serve the diverse interests of Gippsland. Over the years it has been committed to training technical manpower necessary for the operation of the SEC as well as supplying the needs of other local industries. Strenuous efforts have been made to anticipate and identify new needs. To serve the aspirations and demands of prospective students and their families as well as the needs of local industry, the Institute has developed a broad range of high quality courses, which are well appreciated by students, professional bodies, local industry, and prospective employers. Like a number of other regional colleges, the GIAE developed from a technical college base, but it has very rapidly established courses at different levels (including bachelor degree and postgraduate courses) in a diverse number of fields. Its advanced education courses were at first in engineering and applied science, but the main new developments of the last 10 years have been in teacher education, visual arts, social sciences, and business studies. The sheer difficulty of extending educational opportunities in a region so large and diverse has been considerable. To a substantial extent the 'tyranny of distance' has been substantially overcome by the introduction of external studies programs, which were the brainchild of the foundation Director, Mr Max Hopper, who had extensive experience with external studies at the University of New England and overseas. Today the GIAE courses cater for a variety of students, ranging from the new high school graduate to the mature-age professional person wishing to upgrade his or her qualifications, or to the housewife who missed out on study for a degree as a school leaver. Many members of the large professional groups of teachers and engineers in the region have taken advantage of GIAE courses to upgrade qualifications, particularly through part-time study. Many of these professional people would have had no opportunity, short of selling up and leaving their jobs and returning to the city, if suitable courses were not available at the GIAE. And other GIAE students, unable to move to the city, would have been denied educational opportunity altogether.

Apart from helping to increase educational opportunity and serving the needs of local employers for trained personnel, the GIAE has served its region in various other ways. Academic staff in the social sciences, for instance, have made a valuable contribution to the region by addressing major current social problems, while staff in visual arts and other fields such as history have enriched local cultural life through their individual professional work and contributions to local organizations. There is also frequent interchange between staff in the technologies and their counterparts in local industry, while the Institute has carried out research on local problems for a variety of local industries and groups and for governmental agencies. Although not the region's major employer, the GIAE is nevertheless a major employer and its economic contribution, especially to the Latrobe valley, is significant and recognized.

The problems faced by the GIAE since its establishment in the late 1960s have been considerable but, to a substantial extent, they have been common problems shared by other regional colleges and by the whole advanced education sector. While members of the GIAE have frequently regarded their problems and internal conflicts as being idiosyncratic to that institution, nevertheless those problems and conflicts have been largely contingent upon external forces. As Dr Meek has been at pains to point out, social conflict is an essential characteristic of any organization, particularly one experiencing rapid change. Dr Meek's work is a case study which, by definition, focuses on the structural strains, dynamics, and interactions within one specific institution. This may make the analysis of certain problems and disputes seem more specific to that institution than they really are.

One particular problem shared by many city and country colleges alike has been rapid change. From an enrolment of less than 300 students in 1970, the GIAE has expanded to an institution of approaching 2500 students. This achievement has far exceeded early estimates drawn up for the college, while the rate of growth has been at a much greater rate than that for the advanced education sector as a whole. For much of its existence, the GIAE has lived with the constant strain of identifying new potential teaching areas, responding to new demands from employers, planning and developing new courses, recruiting new staff, and finding accommodation to house a rapidly expanding body of students and staff. Other particularly difficult problems which the GIAE has shared with the whole advanced education sector include uncertainty about the role of advanced education, ambiguity about the vocational emphasis and the place of research in colleges, lack of clarity in terms of government policy, competition between institutions and between sectors and, since 1976, limitations on funds available for recurrent expenditure and lack of money for urgent capital projects.

That regional colleges have all faced a wide range of common problems is not surprising in view of their similarity in structure and mission and the similarity between many of the regions in which they operate. Five particular problems need to be mentioned here. First, regional colleges have been at a disadvantage because of their comparative isolation from the major cities and because Australia's population is predominantly urban and located mainly in capital cities. Persons brought up in major cities are reluctant to move to country areas and this has meant that regional colleges have experienced difficulty in recruiting and retaining staff in particular fields. Similarly many students from the city are reluctant to move to the country to study at a regional college, and so regional colleges are largely denied an important source of students. Academic staff in regional colleges sometimes find it difficult to maintain close professional contacts with colleagues in their specialities. All these disadvantages related to isolation and population distribution are by no means overwhelming, but they are substantial and often cumulative. Moreover, some staff and governing bodies of regional colleges have believed that policy makers in Melbourne or Canberra do not fully understand the problems of non-metropolitan colleges and the need to counteract such problems with specially designed measures.

Second, regional colleges suffer from the segmentation of tertiary education to a greater degree than do most city colleges. The non-metropolitan institution constantly has a problem in trying to cater for diverse local needs and within the context of a tertiary education system divided into three relatively autonomous and separate sectors. If the GIAE had been encouraged from the outset to develop as a multi-sectoral institution, there is reason to believe that it would have been able to have developed an even wider range of both credit and non-credit courses. Further, scarce capital resources invested in both advanced education and technical and further education may well have been put to even better use.

Third, because of their relative small size and location away from major cities, regional colleges have suffered disadvantage in terms of costs. By being small and offering courses in a variety of fields, there is less opportunity for economies of scale. Transport charges tend to increase the cost of capital works, equipment, and consumables, while regional colleges face larger telephone costs and also heavy expenses for the transport of staff to the state capital for meetings or professional activities.

Fourth, because of their size, youth, and geographic isolation, most regional colleges have lacked depth in terms of having a large group of staff well experienced in management and administration. In many colleges, including the GIAE, this has created considerable problems at middle-management level. In turn, a great deal of additional responsibility has been placed on the shoulders of the directors of colleges. To a substantial extent, the quality, high community standing, and prestige of regional colleges have been largely the result of the foresight, dedication, and hard work of a small group of highly committed leaders. Many of the colleges were indeed fortunate in their choice of foundation directors. In particular, the GIAE clearly owes much to the vision and dedication of the foundation Director, Mr Max Hopper, who has devoted more than a decade to transforming the GIAE into a quality academic institution.

Fifth, young institutions in every location face the problem of establishing their own traditions and reputations. This general problem is increased for the regional college by its isolation from other tertiary institutions and because of its high visibility in its local community. Nevertheless the GIAE is gradually developing its own set of traditions and shared beliefs and clearly has established already an important and valued place for itself in the community which it serves.

For at least a decade, tertiary education policy makers at federal and state levels have recognized that the needs and priorities of regional colleges are somewhat different from those of metropolitan institutions. Accordingly, they have attempted to devise particular policies to facilitate and encourage the further development of regional colleges. For example, federal and state authorities have discouraged the development of liberal studies in metropolitan colleges, while believing that there is a need for such courses in country areas. Dr Meek's analysis demonstrates that regional colleges like the GIAE have made significant strides and the value of their contribution is clear. But if they are to continue to develop and are to play an even larger role within their respective regions they will need continued sympathetic and informed support from government.

Grant Harman

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In conducting this research, I have incurred too many debts of gratitude to acknowledge what I owe each individual. But I would be highly remiss if I did not thank all the men and women of the Gippsland Institute for their co-operation, for without it this research would not have been possible. In particular, I would like to thank both the Institute's Director, Mr Max Hopper and the President of Council in 1980, Mr Charles Ford, for giving me access to information, and extending to my family and me the hospitality of the Institute. The Institute's Community Services Officer, Mr Murray Homes, took a keen interest in the research, and was invaluable in my introduction to key figures within the Gippsland region. I would also like to thank the Institute's Assistant Director, Mr Gerry Smart, for sharing with me his detailed knowledge of the organization's history. The Deputy Principal, Mr Fred Goddard, also provided invaluable support in this respect. There is not sufficient space to acknowledge every member of the local community who gave freely of time to answer my questions, but I wish to thank all of those people for their interest and involvement.

The words of the songs 'Put a Light in Every Country Window' and 'It's on' by Don Henderson are reproduced by permission of April Music Pty Ltd. I would like to thank the Victorian Tourism Commission, the State Electricity Commission, and the Gippsland Institute for the donation of photographs. I acknowledge gratefully the assistance given by the Committee on Research and Graduate Studies and the Centre for the Study of Higher Education, University of Melbourne, with the publication of the manuscript.

The present monograph is a shortened version of a research report produced for the Gipppsland Institute. The research was conducted under the auspices of the Centre for the Study of Higher Education. I acknowledge the contributions of the former Victoria Institute of Colleges and GIAE in sponsoring the research, and I am grateful to members of the project advisory committee for encouragement and advice, and for their comments on the draft report. In particular, the contribution of Mr R.J. Barnett, Mr Max Hopper, and Mr Charles

Ford need special mention. The research also benefited from the comments of other people. In particular, I would like to thank Mr Daryle Nation, Mr Arthur O'Neill, and Mr David Elder. However, this research is an independent scholarly study, for which the author assumes full intellectual responsibility.

Organizational analysis is notorious for freezing an organization in time and space, treating it as if it had neither a past nor a future. I have made the point elsewhere (Meek, 1982) that the history and development of an organization does not cease with the departure of the researcher, and in Chapter 1 of the present text, I attempt to ground the theoretical analysis of GIAE in history. But while history is continuous and unitary, our intellectual grasp of it can only be partial, segmented, and bound by time. In fact, the possibility of reflection and analysis is foreclosed if every current event is to be included in the discourse. During the intervening months between the completion of the fieldwork and the final reporting of the data, both GIAE and the wider social and educational environment have undergone change. But no attempt has been made to update all information. Like all sociological research, the study predicts the future from the standpoint of a particular point in time, and thus itself becomes part of the historical record.

Several people, such as the Centre's secretarial staff who typed the manuscript, have suffered as a result of this research. In particular, my wife, Ms Di Davies, spent many arduous hours proof reading and translating my quite unintelligible prose into English. My son Jesse had the unfortunate experience of arriving on this earth at a time when his father was undertaking a major piece of writing, and as a result did not receive the attention he deserved. My daughter Ingrid was also somewhat neglected during this period. To these people I offer my thanks for their patience and assistance.

Lynn Meek
March 1984

ABBREVIATIONS

ACAAE	Australian Council on Awards in Advanced Education
APM	Australian Paper Manufacturers Limited
AUC	Australian Universities Commission
CACAE	Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education
CAE	College of Advanced Education
CDC	Curriculum Development Centre
CES	Commonwealth Employment Service
COE	Commonwealth Office of Education
CSIRO	Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
DES	Department of Education and Science
EFTS	Equivalent Full-time Students
ESD	Educational Services Division
GIAE	Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education
GIPSO	Gippsland Institute Professional Services Office
IDO	Interim Development Order
LVE	Latrobe Valley Express
PDPEES	Proposed Driffield Project Environment Effects Statement
PG1	Graduate Diploma Course in College of Advanced Education
RMIT	Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology
SC	Schools Commission
SCV	State College of Victoria
SEC	State Electricity Commission of Victoria
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TEC	Tertiary Education Commission
TVA	Tennessee Valley Authority
UG1	Bachelor Degree Course in College of Advanced Education
UG2	Undergraduate Diploma Course in College of Advanced Education

UG3	Undergraduate Associate Diploma Course in College of Advanced Education
UPNG	University of Papua New Guinea
VIC	Victoria Institute of Colleges
VICSAC	Victoria Institute of Colleges Staff Associations Council
VPSEC	Victorian Post-Secondary Education Commission
VTU	Victorian Teachers Union
VUAC	Victorian Universities Admissions Committee
YTC	Yallourn Technical College
YTS	Yallourn Technical School

PART I

THEORY AND METHOD

1

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

> Among the adages and proverbs which tend to become the philosophy of the thoughtless, one of the most dangerous is: 'seeing is believing'. For thousands of years, wise men believed that the earth was flat and that the sun moved around the earth—because they could see with their own eyes that these things were so.
>
> Hans Zinsser
> *Rats, Lice and History*

The purpose of this work is to present a sociological case study of a regional college of advanced education in the context of its social and physical environment. The focus of the research is the actions of the men and women who have shaped and moulded the structure and character of the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education (GIAE) over time. While the starting point for analysis is that of the conscious actor, it is fully recognized that man is both 'governed by the structure of the situation in which he participates', and '[able], at least to some extent, to shape and mould that structure over time to suit his own interests' (Pettigrew, 1973, p.4). The task is to enquire into what Giddens (p.161) calls the 'duality of structure'—that is, 'to explain how it comes about that structures are constituted through action, and reciprocally how action is constituted structurally'.

An analysis of the complex interplay between human action and social structure is impossible without the use of the historical perspective. The structure of the situation in which people participate, for example, is neither static nor given to participants in an ahistorical ready-made fashion. Structure, on the one hand, arises from particular historical circumstances and, on the other, is a force for conflict and change (Baldridge, 1971, p.11; van den Berghe, 1963). Pettigrew (1973, p.2) observes that 'the use of historical material in the study of organizations is rare'. The present study takes the firm view that organizational dynamics cannot be fully grasped by merely observing the function of an organization at a particular point in time; the organization and its relationship with the environment must also be analysed over time (Jobling, 1969;

Martins, 1974; Mouzelis, 1967; Pettigrew, 1973). In this regard, the present analysis extends not only to the history of GIAE, but also to that of the college of advanced education (CAE) system and to that of the region in which GIAE is placed.

From the underlying intent of this work to understand the behaviour of organizational members in relation to structural and historical forces flow three distinct, though interrelated research themes. First, the study advances the general proposition that there are certain structural contradictions and conflicts inherent in the advanced education sector which tend to reproduce themselves within individual institutions. While members of GIAE frequently regard their conflicts and problems as being idiosyncratic to that institution, they are contingent upon external forces, and in many respects they were inevitable from the beginning. However, the general conflicts and structural contradictions within advanced education on the macro-level only assume specific shape and meaning in relation to the unique histories of particular institutions.

The second theme of the study is that the dynamics of GIAE, though a reflection of more ubiquitous processes and problems, also need to be understood with regard to the unique history of GIAE and that of its immediate environment. For example, the literature on CAEs presents numerous cases of conflict between 'vocational' education in specialized areas and general/liberal educational pursuits. While GIAE experiences conflict along these lines, the details of the conflict are partially determined by the fact that the history of the area in which GIAE is located—the Latrobe Valley of eastern Victoria—and the role of education within it, are intimately linked with the mining of brown coal and the development of the power generation industry.

The structure, function, and character of any complex organization are influenced by numerous social, political, economic, and cultural factors—organizations do not develop in isolation from the wider social setting. The first two themes of this study stress the importance of various sociological processes in shaping the history and development of GIAE. But, as Greenfield (1980; 1981) aptly reminds us, there is nothing within a complex organization that is not human. It is the actions of particular people in specific places which ultimately have meaning.

The third theme of this study is that the history and development of GIAE are the products of the values, attitudes, biographies, past patterns of socialization, and experiences of its members. Human characteristics are, of course, shaped by a variety of social and historical forces. But it is people who act, not organizations—or as Marx put the case, 'men make their own lives, but they do not make them under historical circumstances of their own choosing'.

These three basic themes will be explored throughout the remainder of the text. But first a few words need to be said with regard to the theoretical tools which will aid in their investigation.

A Theoretical Perspective

The present research is a sociological case study of a rural Australian CAE in its environment or community. The methods employed, such as participant observation, are basically anthropological in nature, and the study is largely descriptive and analytical. But in places it becomes prescriptive and offers general proposals for change. In this sense, it is an evaluative study. The research addresses itself to an analysis of the larger social setting (both educational and social), which makes it a study of complex organizations, a political study and a historical one.

In other words, a number of theoretical concepts and techniques—case study, environment, community, evaluation, observation, structure, and organizational analysis—will be employed. However, these words and terms are ambiguous within the sociological literature, and various researchers attach different meanings to them. Hence, it may be worthwhile to outline briefly the approach to be adopted in the present study.

The Case Study Method

Many social scientists tend to define a case study as a technique for gathering information from a single institution or group, and go no further. They regard the method as less reliable than that of the social survey based on a random sample, but see it as useful for either adding local colour to austere empirical facts or for allowing research to proceed where economic, political, or practical problems disallow the use of 'proper' sampling techniques. But such attitudes distort the utility and logical scientific structure of the case study method. The case study is not a method for gathering data from a single case, but an intellectual approach to the subject matter (Meek, 1982).

One of the basic purposes of the case study method is comprehensive understanding of the social phenomena under investigation (Becker, 1968, p.233), and it is for this reason that the researcher must rely on a number of theoretical perspectives. The researcher must also tease out his information through the use of a variety of research techniques: interviews, participant observation, and the study of documents. The goal of comprehensive understanding forces the researcher to examine all facets of the multiple social interrelationships which he observes.

Becker writes that, in pursuing the goal of comprehensiveness, 'the various phenomena uncovered by the investigator's observations must all be incorporated into his account of the group and then be given theoretical relevance'. The sequential process implied by Becker—observation then theory—has led to the basic criticism of the method as being *post factum* interpretation (Merton, 1968, p.147). The fact is that observation and theory are intrinsically intertwined. Recent philosophers of science have recognized that all observations of empirical phenomena (whether physical or social) are theory-laden or theory-dependent (see Hanson, 1958, Chapter I; Popper, 1972, pp.341–61; and particularly Chalmers, 1976, Chapter III). While there are many weaknesses to the case study method, *post factum* interpretation is not one of them.

Greenfield (1981) calls for the development of an organizational analysis which claims the existential, anarchistic behaviour of members as its primary reference point. The study of complex organizations, according to Greenfield (1975; 1979; 1980), must start with detailed observation and description of concrete human behaviour. He believes that in the past too much emphasis has been placed on investigation of organizational processes—bureaucratic structure, formal authority networks, lines of communication, and so on. According to Greenfield (1981, p.2) our theories of organizational processes have obscured and rarefied the fact that 'it is the individual that lives and acts, not the organization'. Rather than construct formal organizational flow charts, 'it is . . . the experience of individuals that we must seek to understand'. Others, such as Hodgkinson (1978), also wish to see case studies and 'clinical observation' within the field of organizational analysis.

Clearly, the case study provides one method for studying concrete human behaviour in detail. The method is usually equated with ethnography on the one hand and clinical observation on the other. Becker (1968) states:

> The term 'case study' comes from the tradition of medical and psychological research, where it refers to a detailed analysis of an individual case that explicates the dynamics and pathology of a given disease: the method supposes that one can properly acquire knowledge of the phenomenon from intensive exploration of a single case. (p.232)

However, neither the medical nor the social researcher begins a case study 'intellectually empty-handed' (Geertz, 1973, pp.26–7). The social researcher goes to the field with certain theoretical notions about what he will observe. While he may modify or reject theory in light of experience, the case study or any other method of direct observation of human action will not rid the investigator of theory nor of the danger of theoretical rarefication. We must not allow observation to be seen as less interpretative than it really is (Geertz, 1973, p.9).

Greenfield is correct that, within organizational analysis, there is a need for a greater emphasis on the study of existential behaviour—a recording of the behaviour of human beings in real situations. But this activity must be seen as part of the construction and testing of social theory. All scientific endeavours attempt to form generalizations from the observation of empirical phenomena. However, it is generalization from the concrete and specific that we are after—not scientific generalizations which assume the existence of 'empirical universals' from the beginning (see Nisbet, 1969). Herein lies the true utility of the case study method.

It needs to be stressed that comprehensive understanding is an ideal which cannot be achieved in practice. Because of the continuous, complex, and diverse nature of any social phenomena, it cannot be studied in all its intricacies. Also, social reality is unitary, while any study of it can only select and classify certain aspects of the historical record. In this respect, all social analysis is artificial. Moreover, the researcher, in accordance with his own 'value orientations', selects for study those aspects of the social phenomena under observation which interest him the most. Weber was one of the first sociologists to recognize the continuous, ubiquitous nature of social reality. He insisted that the social scientist must consciously recognize that his initial investigation of any social situation is determined by what he believes to be the most socially important values—that is, since reality is infinite, the researcher, through his value orientation can only choose to analyse a finite, selective slice of reality (cf. Gouldner, 1973; Hoult, 1968; Rex, 1961, chapter IX; Weber, 1958; 1968). The present study concentrates on organizational dynamics, change, and conflict. While these are useful sociological concepts deserving of study, their selection is also an expression of the values and biases of the researcher.

Often social researchers, in conducting case studies, confuse the 'place of study' with the 'object of study' (Geertz, 1973). This has led to the criticism that the method concentrates on unique phenomena and, thus, does not lend itself to scientific generalization (Baldridge, 1971, p.33). By definition, all cases are unique; but the researcher does not study the case, rather he analyses various social forces—structure, power, values, norms, etc.—within the case. This is not a study of GIAE, but a study of structure, decision making, socialization, power, conflict, change, and so on, as they occur within that institution.

The Concepts of Community and Environment

The concept of community within the sociological literature takes on so many shades of meaning that it is difficult, if not impossible, to use it with any scientific precision (Hillery, 1955). Moreover, sociologists interested in the notion of community have often confused the analytical nature of the concept with their own normative image of it. In formulating the Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft distinction, many sociologists believe that the small rural community represents the 'good life', while the development of modern mass-society results in alienation, excessive individualism, and various forms of deviant behaviour (for a review, see Bell and Newby, 1971; Wild, 1981). Also, as far back as the writing of Tonnies and Durkheim, sociologists have believed that the main feature in the history and development of modern society has been its transformation from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft and, from this *a priori* assumption, grand theories have developed to explain other social phenomena—such as alienation and deviance. Without questioning the empirical validity and social import of this historical transformation, sociologists have lamented the passing of community—the demise of the supposed existence of small, close-knit social groupings, where life was simpler, and social relationships were harmonious, supportive, and interdependent (see Stein, 1964). It is doubtful, however, that community has ever existed in such an idealistic and all-embracing form. In the past, the life of the peasant was certainly different from that of the aristocrat. And there is plenty of evidence to suggest that many villages and small rural hamlets were nasty, brutish places in which to live, and that in such places the psychological pressure to conform to group norms and values also resulted in alienation and deviant behaviour (see Erikson, 1966). Community as a theory of society is, at best, not very useful and, at worst, merely tautological.

Wild (1981) notes that community studies have recently lost favour amongst sociologists of a variety of theoretical persuasions. He writes:

> Neither phenomenology nor structural Marxism has much time for community studies. For the former, community sociologists are overly con-

> cerned with the institutional and organisational frameworks of localised social systems and do not pay sufficient attention to the perceptions held and meanings understood by individuals in their everyday interactions. For the latter, studying people with reference to specific localities is a fruitless exercise in 'abstracted empiricism' because the behaviour and beliefs of these people are determined by the 'laws of capital' which are found elsewhere. (p.11)

However, Wild defends community studies as a method, they 'are able to strike a valuable balance between specific content and generalisation, and between data and theoretical abstraction . . . Sociology must always maintain a balance and an interaction between data and theory' (pp.12–13). In this sense, a community study is indistinguishable from the general scientific logic of the case study. Community studies run into difficulty when they turn from the analysis of concrete behaviour in specific localities to attaching normative prescriptions to the localities they study.

I have no argument with the notion that people's behaviour, values, and attitudes are intrinsically intertwined with the places in which they live. The meanings which people attach to similar structural forms differ greatly between localities which have divergent social and cultural histories. People's behaviour is modified by the customs of particular places (Geertz, 1965, p.96). And human action must be understood in terms of a person's physical location, if for no other reason than that a person cannot be in two places at the same time. The symbolic and emotional feelings which people attach to the places in which they live and to their local institutions are highly relevant to any social analysis (see Hanson, 1968; Poplin, 1972; Selznick, 1957). Some of the most important interactions between an institution and its immediate social setting occur on a symbolic and emotional level.

Where the concept of community fails is as a theory of historical transition, and in terms of the closure and homogeneity it implies. For example, there is no one all-embracing community either within or outside GIAE. Rather, the Institute's exogenous environment is pluralistic, consisting of numerous sub-cultures and interest groups while, within its endogenous environment, there are important social divisions with regard to profession, personal values and attitudes, academic discipline, past professional socialization, and sex. The attitudes and values which people attach to the place where they live and to their local institutions will be determined by their position within the social structure. While different groups may hold some attitudes in common, the extent and significance of this phenomenon is, first of all, an empirical question, not something that can be assumed under the concept of community.

While the symbolic and cultural significance of particular localities cannot be ignored, the lives of people—particularly in a society like Australia's—are greatly affected by decisions and events which take place outside their immediate social setting. Social life is not bound and closed by particular geographical localities, nor should it be regarded merely in terms of a continuum between the particular and the general—the rural and the urban, the local and the national (Gans, 1962; Geertz, 1973; Pahl, 1968). Barnes (1954) and Bott (1957) note that people interact not so much in terms of community, but in terms of social networks which simultaneously operate within the local area and run far beyond its boundaries. It is the position of people and institutions in the social structure or network, relative to the position of other people and other institutions in the social structure, that ultimately must be empirically examined and given theoretical meaning—it is from this multiplicity of relativistic structural positions that social action arises.

Clearly, the empirical situation is that the lives of people living in the Gippsland region are influenced by the political decisions made in Melbourne, Canberra, and even beyond; and in turn, the political decisions made elsewhere are, to a degree, themselves influenced by the activities of people living in the Gippsland region. Any theory of closed communal social relationships flies in the face of empirical reality. Of course, the structural position of GIAE relative to that of other institutions and groups within the Gippsland region, along with their various customs and cultural artefacts, is highly significant. However, in an empirical sense, GIAE is part and parcel of a social environment or network which has no useful boundaries. GIAE does not interact with a closed, homogeneous Gippsland community, for in fact no such thing exists.

On the other hand, as Wild (1981) notes:

> A total reality cannot be objectively grasped by the human mind. Any view of the world must be limited and partial, and the meaning that it has is given to it in terms of the observer's values. All theories segment and classify the empirical phenomena under observation. (p.13)

Thus, in the present study we will speak of GIAE as interacting with its immediate environment and its extended environment, and of forces for change and conflict as being endogenous in origin—that is, arising from the organization's internal environment, and exogenous in origin—that is, arising from the wider social setting. Every attempt

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will be made to avoid unduly bounding the development of GIAE by either time or space.

Goal-Effectiveness, Illuminative Evaluation (or The Wheel Re-discovered) and the Study of Complex Organizations

It is interesting to note how sub-disciplines, employing new names to describe and identify their activities, emerge in the social sciences from time to time (see Meek, 1983). For example, social scientists from a variety of backgrounds—particularly economics, sociology, and social psychology—interested in policy-related research have grouped together under the title of evaluative studies. Many academic research centres and various government-funded research programs currently incorporate the word 'evaluation' into their titles, and mention the word or its derivatives in their job descriptions. One meaning of the word 'evaluate', according to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, is to 'ascertain amount of; find numerical expression for'. It seems that those who employ evaluators want some precise, even mathematical assessment of their activities. Also, in practice, evaluation is usually regarded as applied rather than theoretical research, which is curious since nothing can be assessed, either mathematically or otherwise, without the use of theory.

On its creation, members of an academic sub-discipline seek intellectual legitimacy through establishing their own distinctive journals and body of literature, and through maintaining intellectual boundaries between themselves and those attached to other disciplines and sub-disciplines. In ascending the academic status hierarchy, the ultimate mark of legitimacy is for a chair to be established within a university under the name of the sub-discipline. During the foundation period, the supporters of the sub-discipline show great enthusiasm for what they believe can be accomplished. The disciples of the new intellectual calling often believe they are the bearers of new and significant social theories, methods, and insights. Predictably their approach to the development of knowledge and ideas is largely ahistorical. In their enthusiasm to establish themselves and their sub-discipline as a unique and distinctive enterprise, they often tend to ignore the history of the various intellectual traditions from which their supposedly new methods and theories spring. Eventually, however, the disciplines are faced with the fact that what can actually be accomplished within the sub-discipline does not live up to expectation. This sets in train a process of re-thinking basic methodological and theoretical tenets. But because they have cut themselves off from the intellectual traditions of other more well-established disciplines in the establishment period, the re-thinking process is also basically ahistorical. In assessing the validity of their theories and methods, members of the new sub-discipline back-track, usually without realizing it, over old and well-trodden intellectual paths--and thus, the wheel is continually re-discovered.

Unfortunately, it seems the field of evaluation studies or evaluative research is going through just such a cycle. The purpose here, however, is not to recount the history of the field. Rather, we are interested in formulating a theoretical perspective for the sociological examination of complex organizations which is compatible with some aspects of evaluative studies. It is also important to note that the history of what some authors, such as Scott and Shore (1979), call 'applied sociology' is directly parallel with the history of the field that goes under the rubric, 'evaluation'. Thus, in formulating a perspective for the analysis of complex organizations, brief attention must be paid to the history of theoretical development in both sociology and evaluation.

The output of scholars working within the field of evaluation research has steadily increased over the last 10 to 15 years. As more programs are initiated to ameliorate the social problems of western society, the number of research projects designed to evaluate the efficiency and effectiveness of such programs has increased dramatically. However, it has been noted that 'no textbook specifically concerned with evaluation was available until 1967 when Suchman's brief text *Evaluation Research* . . . appeared' (Stanford Evaluation Consortium, 1976, p.196). 'The field did not really come of age until the 1975 publication of Guttentag and Struening's massive two-volume (1400 pages) *Handbook of Evaluation Research*. This work was intended to provide the student of evaluation with a comprehensive and unifying text of 'sacred writings' (Guttentag and Struening, 1976, p.195).

Whether or not evaluative studies comprise a distinct, unified sub-discipline within the social sciences is open to question. Certainly, they are presented as such in the abstracting journals and in much of the literature. But when one reads the various works under the title 'evaluative studies', it is clear that there are almost as many approaches to evaluation as there are evaluators. Possibly one aspect in common to all evaluative studies is that they are concerned with 'applied' research. Several sociologists, such as Gans (1971), Kelman (1972), Lompe (1968), Moynihan (1969), Orlans (1968), and Scott and Shore (1979), describe their work as 'applied', 'policy-relevant' sociology. Rather than being concerned with pure theoretical issues, they are interested in applying sociological knowledge to the development of policy, particularly government policy, and to the pressing social issues of the day. The distinction between theoretical and applied research, however, is not very useful for defining a subdiscipline, for all theory must eventually be applied to the reality of situations in order to have any meaning.

I have no argument with the notion that sociologists should be interested in either policy-relevant research or in the pressing social problems of the day—such as poverty, unemployment, social alienation, and educational opportunity. The criticism is directed at efforts to define such activities in terms of a distinct sub-discipline, and the notion that the evaluation of social programs and policy studies are more free of theory than other intellectual pursuits. There is a great danger in this, for the social scientist may become blind to the fact that there is an intrinsic relationship between the problems he believes are deserving of study, the theories he chooses, and the conclusions he derives.

The application of sociology to social problems has a long history. Scott and Shore (1979, p.7) note that Albion Small, in the editorial of the first issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* (1895, p.3), stated that 'the relations of man to man are not what they should be' and 'that something must be done directly, systematically . . . to right these wrongs'. Small believed that sociological knowledge had to be *applied* to the major social problems of the day. However, as the discipline developed and its practitioners sought legitimacy as a true science, they adopted a value-free, objective, and neutral relationship with their subject matter (for a thorough discussion, see Friedrichs, 1970). The belief was that sociology, like any other science, only deals with what is, not with what ought to be. The social upheavals of the 1960s shook many sociologists free from their value-neutral moorings and, once again, they recognized that their task was not only to understand society, but also to transform it.

During the last two decades, the value debate within sociology has involved three primary groups: (i) the orthodox sociologists believing in objectivity and value-freedom on all levels; (ii) those who argue for a value commitment from the sociologist on the major social problems of the day but still insist upon objectivity in research practice (e.g. Gouldner, 1973; Hoult, 1968; Kelman, 1968;) and (iii) those who believe that the bias of social science does not necessarily lie with the ethical stance of the researcher, but is part of the very theories and models of society that are employed (e.g. Edel, 1965; Meszaros, 1972; Shaw, 1972). It is the thinking of this last group that is most relevant to the present argument.

Edel (1965, p.255) recognizes that the choice of phenomenon to be studied—which is not necessarily the problem which is studied—directly influences the internal structure of sociology as an intellectual discipline. The debate throughout the 1960s and early 1970s was whether sociologists developed their theories and applied their knowledge to the study of social integration and equilibrium, stability, and the maintenance of social order, or whether they devoted their time and intellectual capacity to the study of social conflict and change. In other words, sociologists were faced with the dilemma of being either critical or accepting of the status quo. They realized that the same social problem, such as social deviance, could be studied by different groups of sociologists who could reach vastly different conclusions. One group might be of the opinion that programs should be developed to modify the behaviour of deviants in order to integrate them into mainstream society, while another group might conclude that the prevailing social order had to be modified in order to destroy the social conditions which brought about deviance. This situation seems to make a mockery of scientific method until we realize that it is not deviance which is the main phenomenon under investigation. The first group of sociologists are studying deviance as a problem of social stability and integration, and employ theories which are suited to such a task—for example, structural-functionalism. The second group are studying deviance as a problem of malintegration, structural contradiction, and social repression, and also choose theories suited to their task—such as conflict theory and structural Marxism. The point is a simple one—choice of phenomena and theory coincide and affect research results. This is particularly pertinent to those social scientists who choose, or are invited, to evaluate the behaviour of others.

The field of evaluation research has reached the stage of maturity where its practitioners are in conflict over what the most appropriate theories and methods are. Two distinct approaches emerge from the literature on evaluation. First, there is the orthodox view that the primary purpose of evaluation is to assess whether or not programs or organizations are accomplishing their stated goals (Stanford Evaluation Consortium, 1976, p.204). Evaluation proceeds, particularly in the area of education, by first obtaining 'precise behavioural specification of goals' and then assessing the effectiveness and efficiency of an institution or program in relation to those goals. The orthodox stance, as Parlett and Hamilton (1976) indicate, borrows its basic theoretical concepts from an 'agricultural-botany' paradigm:

> Students—rather like plant crops—are given pretests (the seedlings are weighed or measured) and then submitted to different experiences (treatment conditions). Subsequently, after a period of time, their attainment (growth or yield) is measured to indicate the relative efficiency of the methods (fertilizers) used. Studies of this kind are designed to yield data of one particular type, i.e. 'objective' numerical data that permit statistical analyses . . . Isolated variables like IQ, social class, test scores, personality profiles, and attitude ratings are codified and processed to indicate the efficiency of new curricula, media, or methods. (p.142)

Evaluation research is not the only field to borrow concepts and methods from the biological sciences. One of the main criticisms of structural-functional theory in sociology is that it is based on a biological metaphor (see Nisbet, 1969). For our purposes, it is useful to look at how evaluation research, in its emphasis upon goal-effectiveness, parallels the earlier development of the study of complex organizations through principles of scientific management (see Gulick and Urwick, 1947; Sheldon, 1923; Taylor, 1911). Parlett and Hamilton (1976) note that Lindvall and Cox (1970) in *The IPI Evaluation Program*, argue:

> . . . the 'effectiveness' of an innovation is 'determined' by the answers to four basic questions:
> (1) What goals should the program achieve?
> (2) What is the plan for achieving these goals?
> (3) Does the operating program represent a true implementation of the plan?
> (4) Does the program, when developed and put into operation, achieve the desired goals?
>
> (Parlett and Hamilton, 1976, p.155)

The pioneer practitioner of scientific management, F.W. Taylor, was asking the same questions about the goals of business enterprises and factories shortly after the turn of the century.

Not surprisingly, the criticisms of the goal-effectiveness framework in evaluation research are the same as those which relate to the study of scientific management in complex organizations. In summary, the criticisms are that the framework orientates the researcher primarily to the problems of management, it ignores the dynamics of the goal-setting process, it does not take sufficient account of how goals change over time, and it ignores the fact that, below the level of formally stated goals, there may be considerable conflict over what exactly an institution or program is to achieve (Berk and Rossi, 1976; Edwards, Guttentag and Snapper, 1975; Parlett, 1971; Parlett and Hamilton, 1976; and Sjoberg, 1975. For similar criticisms in the area of complex organizations, see Baldridge, 1971; Perrow, 1972; Silverman, 1970).

At least since the work of Taylor, the popular image of the organizational theorist has been one of the efficiency expert. But, as Silverman (1970) notes, the simple fact is that effectiveness and efficiency 'are generally not very interesting sociological problems, at least as usually conceived'. He writes that:

> While it may be possible to explain the degree to which an organisation is 'efficient', this will not help in understanding why its structure is as it is, unless we make the tautological assumption that organisations take the form that they do as a response to their needs, one of which is presumably 'efficiency'. (p.19)

Anyone who has worked in an academic institution knows that the very structure of the organization can create a great deal of imbalance, dissension, and conflict. The structure of complex organizations needs to be investigated in terms of conflict, change, and contradiction—not in terms of efficiency. Goal setting and policy formation need to be seen as more than mechanistic processes whereby actors collect and synthesize information on certain programs, and then form consensus on the most adequate of several alternatives. Rather, groups compete with one another in the attempt to elicit decisions favourable to their own interests and values. Deming (1975) indicates that an evaluation of the effectiveness of a program can proceed if the researcher and program directors can arrive at a consensus on the basic goals which are to be achieved. But goal conflict, not consensus, may be the overriding characteristic of an institution or social program. For example, the maximization of profits may be one of the basic goals of the managers of Ford Motor Company. In order to facilitate this goal, they may attempt to increase production efficiency while at the same time cutting labour costs. The workers on the factory floor, on the other hand, may not support this goal. Their major concern within the organization is more likely to be the maximization of wages, better working conditions, and a shorter working week. And both groups have powerful methods available to them for achieving their respective goals and aims.

Institutions of higher education, to say nothing of the communities in which they are placed, are large, complex, heterogeneous organizations. They consist of individuals and groups who have diverse and sometimes conflicting goals and interests. Clearly, an activity which may be judged as being effective in terms of the interests of one group may be detrimental to the interests of another. The researcher needs to concentrate on why certain goals and not others have been selected, on how informal goals may run either parallel or counter to the formal ones, on whose interests the formal goals serve, and, most importantly, on how the environment may influence or even dramatically alter the institution's goals and aims (see Selznick, 1948; 1949).

In searching for a theory and method which can account for the problems and processes ignored by the goal-effectiveness framework, several authors have come up with a second, alternative approach to evaluation—what Parlett, in particular, terms 'illuminative evaluation' (Parlett, 1971; Parlett and Dearden, 1977; Parlett and Hamilton, 1976; Stake, 1967; Stake and Gjerdge, 1971; Trow, 1970).

According to Parlett and Hamilton (1976), illuminative evaluation 'stands unambiguously within the alternative anthropological paradigm' (p.144). In their view, the researcher using this approach has:

> to familiarize himself thoroughly with the day-to-day reality of the setting or settings that he is studying. In this he is similar to social anthropologists or to natural historians. Like them he makes no attempt to manipulate, control, or eliminate situational variables, but takes as given the complex scene he encounters. (p.147)

The techniques of the illuminative evaluator are observation—'the investigator builds up a continuous record of ongoing events, transactions, and informal remarks' (p.148); interviews—'discovering the views of participants is crucial to assessing the impact of an innovation' (p.149); and questionnaires and tests. In discussing the subjective element in illuminative evaluation, the authors state:

> The use of interpretative human insight and skills is, indeed, encouraged rather than discouraged. The illuminative evaluator thus joins a diverse group of specialists (e.g. psychiatrists, social anthropologists, and historians) among whom this is taken for granted. (p.151)

In the limited sense that the present research is evaluative, illuminative evaluation provides the most appropriate option with regard to the various approaches available in the formal literature. With its emphasis upon comprehensive understanding of complex social interrelationships and observation and description, it is highly compatible with what was previously stated about the case study method. But unfortunately, Parlett and his colleagues view illuminative evaluation as an approach to the subject matter, not as a method which requires discussion of its logical scientific foundations and a thorough consideration of theoretical perspectives. Parlett and Dearden (1977) see it as a pragmatic rather than a theoretical approach and one which requires no particular intellectual background or training in the social sciences. It is this simplistic regard for method and theory on which criticisms of illuminative evaluation are based (Smith, 1980; Parsons, 1978). Most historians, for example, would take exception to the statement that interpretative human insight and skills are taken for granted. Many historians spend much of their time demonstrating how ideas, interpretations, and human insight—both their own and those of others—arise out of specific historical circumstances. Also, they are always conscious of the fact that their theories and insights may not be applicable to the behaviour of people living at a different time or under different cultural circumstances. A similar stance would be adopted by most social anthropologists.

The thinking of Parlett and his colleagues certainly has value but, in their efforts at 're-discovering the wheel', they will have to face many of the same epistemological dilemmas that have confronted historians and social anthropologists for at least the last century. Adopting the general approach of the historian and social anthropologist, without considering the scientific basis and logic of their theories and methods will do little to advance evaluation research. Newly developing disciplines end up dealing with very old problems.

None the less, I am in full agreement with Parlett and others concerned with illuminative evaluation that the study of effectiveness and efficiency, particularly in terms of gathering objective, statistically manipulative data, does not raise very interesting questions for an investigator interested in the complexities and dynamics of institutions. Where I take exception to illuminative evaluation is with regard to the implication that observational research is any less theory dependent than other forms of research.

By stating the problem with the goal-effectiveness framework in the manner set out above, a theory of complex organizations already emerges. It is one which emphasizes theories of conflict and change, and views the complex organization as a political collective of individuals and groups. The political model of higher education institutions based on conflict theory is becoming well established in the literature (Baldridge, 1971; Conrad, 1978; Fashing, 1969; Kaestle, 1976; van den Berghe, 1973) and it will be loosely employed throughout the remainder of the work. This model focuses on group antagonism, the divergent and pluralistic nature of group goals, and the role of conflict and its resolution in forming the structure, function, and character of complex organizations. More will be said about the adequacy of conflict theory and a political model for explaining the behaviour of members of higher educational organizations in the concluding chapter.

Similar to the enlightenment model employed by many sociologists interested in social policy research (Dror, 1971; Gans, 1971; Janowitz, 1972; Kelman, 1972; Price, 1965), the goal of illuminative evaluation is to enlighten and further the understanding of policy makers, innovators, and planners associated with an institution or program. The emphasis is not on effectiveness but on the complexities of social interaction and on the unintended, as well as the intended consequences of institutional activity. As Janowitz (1972, pp.3–5) indicates with regard to the enlightenment model in sociology, the task is not to sit in judgment or to make specific recommendations, but to create the conditions and intellectual climate for more informed decision making. But such an intellectual climate cannot be achieved without a heavy dependence upon theory.

The illuminative model of evaluation may become a more powerful tool for research if its practitioners develop a higher regard for theory. But the discussion on theory and method in this section begs one final question with regard to evaluative studies: if the investigator is to propose strategies for change, by what criteria are they to be assessed as appropriate? The obvious answer is that they must be consistent with the observations and theoretical conclusions of the study—they cannot be assessed by any appeal to an objective authority. This answer is not entirely adequate, for it is also obvious that sociologists, both in theory and practice, are much more skilled at providing a critical analysis of society, than at transforming it. This caveat applies to all suggestions for change made in the present study.

Concluding Remarks

It is stressed above that organizations are pluralistic, split by divergent interest groups, and that goal setting and policy formation are basically political processes. But it should be mentioned that the normative and symbolic aspects of organizational life are not ignored in the study. Higher education institutions are basically normative institutions (Etzioni, 1961), the significance of which is often not fully appreciated. Such norms and values as academic freedom, disciplinary allegiance, excellence in scholarship, professional authority, democratic participation in decision making, and so on—whether they are fully believed in or not—are essential for understanding the behaviour of members of colleges and universities (see van den Berghe, 1973).

The study of social conflict is a central aspect to this research. But conflict is not necessarily to be regarded as a disruptive force, rather it should be seen as a natural and inevitable feature of the human condition (Baldridge, 1971; Coser, 1956; Dahrendorf, 1959; Gluckman, 1966). As will be demonstrated, social conflict within complex organizations comes in many forms.

Research Techniques

The field research for this study was conducted between March and December 1980. During this period I lived with my family in the Latrobe Valley, at a residence approximately ten minutes drive from GIAE. The bulk of the data was collected during this period, and most of the interpretations are confined to observations made in 1980. However, some of the issues were of such importance that their observation and analysis had to be carried over into 1981. Though I had left the Latrobe Valley in 1981, I made many journeys back to the Institute, kept in regular contact with a few key members, and was supplied with council papers and other important documents throughout the year.

Bell and Newby (1971, p.57) comment that 'social systems can be categorized by the degree of difficulty of entry for the fieldworker'. In this sense, GIAE must be judged as a liberal, open-minded, tolerant and receptive institution. GIAE, like any other heterogeneous organization, has its internal conflicts and problems, but fear of external scrutiny certainly is not one of them. During the period of field research I was afforded the opportunity to observe all activities—no matter how sensitive the issue. I was given access to all committees, including council, and all files, documents, and other written information were made available to me.

All members of staff gave freely of their time to answer my many questions and to engage in formal interviews. I was asked into the homes of many staff members and some council members, and was able to form an extensive information network. During the period of field research, I never felt that my position within the local structure unduly limited my access to information. All members of the senior administrative staff, council, and academic staff were quite willing to talk freely about any issue. During the initial four to five weeks of the field research, I was regarded with a slight degree of suspicion by some members of academic staff. The academic staff association had recently experienced a severe conflict with the administration and council, and relationships within the organization were highly charged. But once I explained that I represented the interests of no one faction—neither that of administration nor of academic staff—and that I was an independent social researcher, these suspicions evaporated.

In addition, some of the more junior members of the non-academic staff, such as typists and administrative officers, initially saw me as an agent of the central administration—some believing that I was at GIAE to check up on their performance. Those suspicions also disappeared when I explained the nature of my research. However, some of the junior staff members remained curious as to why I wanted to ask them questions, believing that they possessed no important or worthwhile information about the organization.

Members of local industry, municipal councils, welfare agencies, the Town and Country Planning Board, the Regional Education Office, local newspapers, public and private schools, and a host of other organizations were quite willing to talk about GIAE, the Gippsland region, other organizations, and education in general. Within the various public bodies and the major industries, there was a keen interest in both GIAE and higher education.

The hospitality and co-operation shown to me by students matched that of the staff of GIAE. The student union gave me permission to observe their meetings, and various student leaders such as the immediate past president of the union board, Mr Greg Vines, took an interest in the research. The president of the union board during 1980 kept me well informed about student issues, as did the union's executive officer, Mr Ed Brew. Individual students were quite willing to answer questions and engage in discussions about the nature and character of GIAE.

During the period of field research, three basic techniques were used for gathering data: participant observation, interviews, and the study of documents.

Participant Observation

In sociology and social anthropology, the word 'observation' is almost synonymous with the term 'case study'. The researcher places himself in the community and, over a period of time, observes and records the day-to-day activities of its members. Almost every social event is of some importance. Fieldwork is a 24 hour a day activity, and what may seem at first to be a trivial event may take on significance as the researcher builds his holistic picture of the community under observation.

During my stay at GIAE, I observed a variety of formal and informal events. Throughout the year, I sat in on numerous committee meetings—one could be involved with committees from 9 a.m. in the morning to past midnight. Obviously, I was forced to select those committees for observation which were central to my research interests. The committees which I observed on a regular basis were council and its sub-committees, academic board, school boards, the director's executive committee, course advisory committees, and the union board. The proceedings of other committees were observed when the issue under discussion seemed to be important to the research. Various *ad hoc* committees were formed throughout the year, and several of these were placed under observation.

Often, more information was obtained during the drinks sessions following committee meetings than during the formal proceedings. Also, informal observation was achieved through my participation in various staff and student parties, student dances and folk concerts, dinners and semi-formal gatherings, talking with a certain section of staff at the local hotel, and so on. Of course, much of the information gathered during such events was in the form of gossip, and I attempted to follow Gluckman's (1963) 'rules of gossip'. Nevertheless, it needs to be recognized that gossip, value-laden statements, and opinions—however ill-informed they may be—are an important part of the historical record of any organization.

Interviews and the Collection of Verbal Information

In a case study, the researcher gathers verbal information from hundreds of people. During my stay at GIAE, some of the verbal information was collected through highly structured interviews, based on set topics. A few of the interviews were quite short, lasting for only one hour, while others took several days to complete. Some interviews were of an informal, conversational nature. Because of the rural location of GIAE, staff members spend much of their time travelling in cars. Accompanying staff members on various trips was an excellent way of collecting verbal information through informal conversation. Most interviews with people outside the Institute were of a more formal and structured nature.

A section of GIAE had been involved with the Institute since its inception. This group was questioned on a variety of issues, both past and present. After a few months of information gathering, a network of key informants developed. As is typical with many case studies, this network consisted primarily of informants holding key positions within the local social structure—both within and without the Institute. Some field researchers believe that it is the alienated, disenchanted person who makes the best informant (Vidich and Bensman, 1955). However, in the present research, it is assumed that those holding power and influence within the social structure are also the people closest to the issues and the most involved in the decision-making process and, therefore, the ones who can provide the most useful information.

The Collection of Written Information

The study of official documents and records is of importance for two reasons. First, the researcher can use documents to check the accuracy of verbal information. Second, archives provide the researcher with a sense of the institution's history and development.

Throughout 1980 I sifted my way through thousands of pages of GIAE archival material. I read the reports of various commissions of inquiry, the minutes and agenda of a multitude of committees, formal speeches, articles published on the Institute, student newspapers, official correspondence, memoranda, newspaper clippings, financial reports, discussion papers, and so on. However, it would have been impossible to read every document contained in the central records collection in the time allocated for field research. As with informants, a network of key documents developed—such as the files of council and academic board—and these were consulted more vigorously than other written information.

PART II

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

2

SOME ASPECTS OF THE STRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

> The objective of the education provided by a technical college is to equip men and women for the practical world of industry and commerce, teaching them the way in which manufacturing and business are carried on and the fundamental rules which govern their successful operation. The university course, on the other hand, tends to emphasize the development of knowledge and the importance of research; in so doing it imparts much information which is valuable to the practical man but which is often incidental to the main objective. Both types of education are required by the community, and in increasing amounts, but it is important that students receive the kind of education best suited to their innate abilities and purposes in life. At present, certain pressures tend to overtax the academic ability of a considerable segment of the student population which could be better provided for in institutions offering courses of different orientation and less exacting academically.
>
> Australia. Committee on the
> Future of Tertiary Education in
> Australia to the Australian
> Universities Commission, 1964

While holding to the norm of egalitarian social relations, Australia is, paradoxically, also one of the most bureaucratized nations in the western world (see Encel, 1970). This is the case for the society in general and for education in particular (Auchmuty, 1963). Since World War II, centralized bureaucratic control has progressively become the domineering feature in the development of Australian tertiary education. Traditionally, particularly after federation in 1901, the provision of formal education in Australia was essentially a state matter. But in recent years, successive governments have steadily increased the Commonwealth's involvement in educational affairs (for a review, see Birch, Hind and Tomlinson, 1979; Birch and Smart, 1977; Harman, 1980a; Jecks, 1971). This has resulted in a complex array of state and federal mechanisms for co-ordinating, rationalizing, and directing Australian tertiary education. Following the *Report of the Committee on Australian Universities* (Murray committee) in 1957, new layers have been added every few years to the educational bureaucratic hierarchy, and entirely new educational sectors have appeared on the scene. Also, the list of reports and recommendations made by various committees and commissions of inquiry on the structure and function of tertiary education has grown longer year by year.

In reviewing the Commonwealth situation up to 1975, Smart (1977) writes:

> In 1964, there were only two major Commonwealth education authorities, the Commonwealth Office of Education (COE, 1945) and the Australian Universities Commission (AUC, 1959). By 1975, there had been added the Commission on Advanced Education (1965), the Department of Education and Science (1966), the Schools Commission (1973), the Technical and Further Education Commission (1975) and the Curriculum Development Centre (1975). (p.24)
>
> The Murray Report on universities (1957) preceded the creation of the AUC . . . the Martin Report on colleges (1964) preceded the CAE . . . the Karmel Report (1973) preceded the Schools Commission . . . the Kangan Report (1974) preceded TAFEC . . .
>
> The Karmel, Kangan . . . Committees were interim bodies established as part of an ALP government decision to have on-going advisory commissions, rather than committees of inquiry. (p.27)

To mention but a few changes and additions, by 1981 the commissions on advanced education, TAFE, and universities had been replaced by three councils, responsible for the functions of each sector, and reporting to the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) created in 1977. Also during this period, the Williams committee (*Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training*, 1978), the Sax committee (*Report of the Committee on Nurse Education Training*, 1979), and the Auchmuty committee (*Report of the National Inquiry*, 1980) had submitted their reports to government. In 1981 the Prime Minister issued a Ministerial Statement: Review of Commonwealth Functions, prepared by a committee of senior government ministers, chaired by the Minister of Commerce and called the 'Razor Gang' in the popular press. One recommendation of the 'Razor Gang' was that mono-purpose teachers colleges amalgamate with other institutions. The Commonwealth Government indicated that it would not fund the 30 institutions it had listed for amalgamation until the process had been completed.

The decisions of the 'Razor Gang' signal a new relationship between government and education institutions. In the past, government's approach to educational matters has been through the expert advice of committees of inquiry and statutory authorities. The decisions of the 'Razor Gang' show the willingness of government to ignore and by-pass these procedures and intervene directly in the affairs of higher education institutions. For example, one of the decisions was that an Australian university close its faculty of engineering which, along with other government decisions, resulted in a national day of protest by university staff.

In Parts III and IV of the text, it will be argued that individual institutions, such as GIAE, have been both beneficiaries and victims of various centralized bureaucratic structures created for the purpose of controlling the development of tertiary education. This chapter presents a brief outline—with particular reference to Victoria and the development of the CAE system—of some of the main historical events which have shaped the structure of Australian higher education.

The Victorian Technical School System and the Development of Colleges of Advanced Education

Technical education within Victoria had its beginnings in the middle of the last century with the establishment of working men's colleges, schools of mines, and mechanics institutes (Docherty, 1973; Murray-Smith, 1966). The Melbourne Mechanics Institute began operation in 1839, and over the years many similar institutions were established and disbanded. However, by 1960 there existed in Victoria an array of well-established (though not well-endowed) technical colleges. These institutions were particularly strong with regard to engineering education at diploma level. In fact, the Victorian technical college system was so well developed that the State gained a reputation for exporting professional engineers to other parts of the country.

Hermann (1970, p.126) states that in 1960 'it was relatively simple to distinguish the purpose and functions of higher and further education institutions in Australia'. He writes:

> At a university, one could 'read' for a degree in arts, in science, or in one of a number of professional courses . . . On so doing, one was considered to be educated, that is, was considered to be capable of critical thinking, capable of arguing from first principles, and capable of . . . analysis . . . At a technical college, one could study a vocational course at professional, sub-professional (technical) or trade level, could undertake a 'remedial' general education course . . . or could attend an 'adult education' course.

Even then, the distinction between the two types of institution was probably not that simple. But what stands out with regard to the technical colleges is that they were, fundamentally, commercial and industrial in nature. The industrial aspect of their course programs has been both their strength and, when it came time to develop the senior technical colleges into CAEs, their weakness.

Victoria's dual system of secondary education is a system which led to the extensive development of technical colleges, but also a system which created a status hierarchy amongst Victorian state secondary schools. Since the 1940s, the larger metropolitan technical colleges had sought recognition of their diploma courses as equivalent to degrees, and an upgrading of the colleges to university status (see Dare, 1976). However, the colleges have always been regarded by the general community as being lower in status and prestige relative to academic education within high schools and universities.

The low prestige of the colleges is the result of three historical factors. First, the mere separation of secondary education into two streams, with one leading to technical college entry and the other to university entry or teacher education, made the evaluative comparison of institutions inevitable (Woods, 1978, p.15). Second, though there was also an element of self-improvement involved, the technical schools developed in the nineteenth century as a middle class response to the dilemmas of the working class, and to supply capital with skilled labour. The class system within the society as a whole reproduced itself within the educational structure (Birrell, 1974; Edgar, 1976). The technical colleges were associated 'with education for the lower classes', which meant a utilitarian, industrial education. High school education led to white-collar employment, university entry, and professional careers; technical education led to a career in the trades or sub-professional training in such areas as engineering. Third, though in some respects the technical colleges were considered as providing higher level education, they were also intimately associated in the public's mind with the utilitarian training at the secondary level, as Woods (1978) notes:

> There can be no serious doubt that the secondary sections of Victorian technical schools have always been held in lower esteem than the high schools. The senior technical diploma courses that were offered in six council-controlled and fourteen education department colleges . . . by 1965 might have been spared a similarly invidious comparison with university degree courses had they been presented in premises that were physically separate from those of secondary classes. This, however, was not the case; an intimate relationship had developed between Victorian junior technical schools and the diploma-awarding technical colleges. (p.15)

While various committees of inquiry exhorted the value of technical college diplomas they generally resisted upgrading their status. For example, in early 1961 the Victorian Government appointed the Committee for the Development of Tertiary Education in Victoria under the chairmanship of Major-General Sir Alan Ramsay. The Ramsay Committee reported to the Minister of Education in August 1963. While the Committee dealt mainly with university education, it also considered the arrangements which were being made at that time to:

> lift the standard of entry to diploma courses in technical colleges to Technical Leaving Certificate level, i.e., one year below present Matriculation, and to require four years of full-time study for diplomas. At the end of that time a student will have spent in full-time study the same length of time as another student who matriculates at a secondary school, and then spends three years in a university obtaining a first degree. It seems to us obvious that claims will be made for degree status for such courses. (p.69)

In discussing the validity of such a claim, the Committee considered that technical college diplomas 'have for many years been highly regarded, and have for those who hold them given right of entry to many jobs . . . They have a valued place in *the hierarchy of qualifications*' (pp.72–3) (emphasis provided). But the Committee also felt that 'the word "degree" as an academic award of an Australian university means something in Australia and in those countries where Australian graduates go' (p.77). With regard to raising the standard of the diploma the Committee believed that 'it would . . . serve no useful educational or vocational purpose', and that raising its standard 'could deter from commencing it, or divert into other courses, many who now enter it confidently or hopefully. Something akin to it would be reinstituted because it is and will be needed' (p.73). Two years later, however, the Martin Report set events in train which led to the conversion of former technical college diplomas into degrees, the very diversion of students into other courses which the Ramsay Committee feared, and an acceleration of the rivalry between technical and university education—rivalry which continues to this day. The distinction which the Ramsay Committee made between the prestige of the university degree and the technical college diploma merely echoed the one which the Murray Committee had made in 1957. In December 1956 the Prime Minister, the Honourable R.G. Menzies, invited Sir Keith Murray, the then Chairman of the University Grants Committee in Great Britain, to head a committee of inquiry into the future of Australian universities. Murray was asked to investigate in particular:

1. the role of the university in the Australian community;
2. the extension and co-ordination of university facilities;
3. technological education at university level; and
4. the financial needs of universities . . .

The Committee on Australian Universities submitted its Report in September 1957 and recommended that the Commonwealth Government become more involved in the affairs of the universities—particularly with regard to finance and development—and that an Australian Universities Grants Committee be established to advise the government on university matters. The States were finding it increasingly difficult to bear the financial burden of university development, and in 1959 the Australian Universities Commission (renamed Universities Commission in 1974) was constituted to advise the Commonwealth Government, on a triennial basis, on the financial needs of universities. The Commonwealth provided the States with matching grants up to 1974, after which time it assumed full financial responsibility for all forms of higher education. With regard to appropriate levels of higher education, the Murray Committee supported the traditional view that the roles of the university were scholarship, the pursuit of knowledge for knowledge's sake, pure research, and to provide training for the professions. The technical college, on the other hand, should 'give its whole attention to educating the craftsmen, the technicians and others, at various standards up to and including the sub professional level . . .' (Woods, 1978, p.33).

The Committee went on to state:

> Throughout Australia the aims and methods of training graduate engineers and applied scientists on the one hand and of technicians and craftsmen on the other appear to be reasonably well defined; but we think that there are a number of problems yet to be solved in the education of the large body of professional and sub-professional men lying between these extremes. *The Committee's chief concern is with the present blurring of responsibilities between the university and the technical colleges.* We consider that the universities, while not neglecting their obligations toward part-time degree students, *should not lightly run the risk of stepping outside their proper functions or of allowing themselves to become dual-purpose institutions.* (Murray, 1957, p.123) (emphasis provided)

In this regard, it is interesting to note the recent amalgamations between certain universities and CAEs within Australia.

The Murray Committee recommended the expansion and upgrading of Australian universities, along with the mechanisms to facilitate and co-ordinate their growth. However, by 1961 it was apparent that the demand for higher education was expanding far more rapidly than was the capacity of the universities to supply student places. In that year, the Menzies government asked the AUC and its chairman, Sir Leslie Martin, to establish the 'Committee on the Future of Tertiary Education in Australia'. In the press release announcing the formation of the Martin Committee (1964), the Prime Minister stated:

> The rapidly increasing number of students who may wish to take advantage of tertiary education, and other factors such as student wastage, staff shortage and the pressure on universities generally, make it imperative that we investigate the best way of making the most efficient use of available and potential resources. (Vol.I, p.225)

At the time the Martin Committee was appointed, both the government and educators were concerned that rapidly expanding student enrolments would dilute the standards and status of the universities, and distract them from their traditional role of pure research and scholarly pursuits. Menzies himself adopted an elitist view of higher education, believing in the primacy of the traditional university model (Lublin, 1977, p.76; Bessant, 1977; and see Menzies, 1939, 1963, and 1968). It is interesting to note the Prime Minister's attitude in the following interchange of points of view. One minor recommendation of the Martin Committee was that students who successfully completed their first year of university should automatically be awarded later-year Commonwealth University Scholarships. Addressing Parliament on 24 March 1965), Menzies stated:

> The Government does not feel it should accept this suggested unknown charge on future Budgets . . .
> **Mr Bryant**—This is a fizzer.
> **Sir Robert Menzies**—To me it is a novel idea that getting through your first year at the first attempt should qualify you for a scholarship. This is quite new to me.
> **Dr J.F. Cairns**—The Prime Minister is still in the nineteenth century.
> **Sir Robert Menzies**—I was born in the nineteenth century. I used to know a good deal about scholarships having won quite a few in those rather harder schools of competition.
> **Dr J.F. Cairns**—We are not all as brilliant as you are, you know.
> **Sir Robert Menzies**—Well, you must speak for yourself.
>
> (cited in Wilkes, 1965, Appendix B)

Also, the expansion of university education suggested by the Murray Committee had placed a heavy burden on the Commonwealth Treasury—universities, particularly the establishment of new ones, were not cheap. In assessing the future of higher education in Australia, financial considerations were to play an important role in the deliberations of the Martin Committee (Woods, 1970).

The Committee's investigations were to be wide-ranging, and it was to consider all forms of post-secondary education (see covering letters to the Martin Report, Vol.I). The original Committee consisted of 17 people. At that time, 11 members were, or had been, directly associated with the universities (including 10 professors or emeritus professors). The remaining members consisted of two state directors of education, one grazier, two industrialists, and the head of RMIT.

Lublin (1977, p.76) speculates that Menzies may have 'stacked' the Committee 'in order to ensure that his vision of the universities as centres of excellence would not suffer dilution and modification . . .'. Certainly, the main recommendations of the Committee did nothing to disturb the traditional pattern of Australian university education. However, the new Australian universities established during the 1960s were keen to experiment with innovations in academic programs and structure, and there is evidence to suggest that Menzies may have been concerned more about securing a cheaper alternative to the universities, than protecting traditional university interests (Gallagher, 1980).

Though the Martin Committee Report was not to be tabled in Federal Parliament until March 1965, the first two volumes were forwarded to the AUC in August 1964. The Report stated that diversification and increased participation in higher education should be achieved through the expansion of alternative, non-university forms of education. The Committee rejected any notion of expanding the role and function of the universities. The Committee believed that no new universities should be established in the future, that part-time and external studies at universities should be gradually reduced and eventually eliminated, and that university entrance be restricted to students whose standard of pass at matriculation level was high enough to predict that they would graduate in minimum time (three years), or minimum time plus one year.

The Committee also investigated the concept of the American community (junior) college, but rejected it as being unsuitable for Australia. Rather, the Committee argued for expansion and diversification through upgrading the existing technical colleges and, to some extent, the teachers colleges. In advancing the notion of diversification through non-university forms of higher education, the Martin Committee (1964) stated:

> there is a danger of higher education becoming identified in the minds of the community with university education . . . Ability is a complex human quality; and emphasis on university studies to the exclusion of others in higher education is wasteful of much human talent . . .
> If . . . the Committee had recommended only an increase in the number of university places, it would have created a further problem—the recruitment of university staff of appropriate quality and experience, and in sufficient numbers, to cope with the larger numbers of students and, at the same time, to preserve university standards. (p.175)

In proposing the expansion and diversification of non-university higher education, the Martin Committee (1964) recommended a new bureaucratic structure for the management and co-ordination of educational activities. It envisaged the establishment in each State of an institute of colleges to oversee technical education, and a board of teacher education to supervise the activities of teachers colleges. The institute of colleges would, for example:

> . . . consider general plans for the expansion of technical and other tertiary non-university education, . . . make triennial submissions, . . . develop diversity in curricula, . . . exercise general supervision over the standards, . . . of examinations, . . . co-ordinate the work of the colleges and of the types of instruction given. (p.183).

At the federal level, the Committee recommended the creation of three bodies to co-ordinate the activities of each sector—teacher education, technical, and university. These three bodies would report to one umbrella committee: the Australian Tertiary Education Commission. In effect, the Martin Committee proposed a tripartite system of tertiary education. However, the government was to accept only those recommendations relating to technological education, and only the State of Victoria was to create an institute of colleges in the form recommended by the Committee.

Throughout its Report, the Committee made generalizations about the intrinsic human value of higher education. But in terms of both philosophy and practical recommendations, the thrust of the Report was towards expansion of technological education. The Martin Committee (1964) began its Report with general statements on the value of education to the nation:

> The human values associated with education are so well recognized as to need little elaboration . . . Education should be regarded as an investment which yields direct and significant economic benefits through

> increasing the skill of the population and through accelerating technological progress . . . The Committee has framed its recommendations with the object of widening the range of educational opportunities . . . of providing extensive vocational and specialized training and of ensuring that Australia makes a worth-while contribution to the advancement of knowledge . . .
> The Committee agrees with the view . . . that higher education should be available to all . . . according to their inclination and capacity. Such a view accords with the aspirations of individuals and serves the needs of the community in promoting dynamic economic growth. (p.1)

The Committee has been judged harshly for uncritically accepting the value of social and economic benefits of science and technology, for applying an economic growth model to higher education, and for failing to think through its concept of expanded technological education (Lublin, 1977; Partridge, 1965; Short, 1967; and Woods, 1978). Lublin (1977), for example, thought that it was a 'pity that the Committee never . . . saw itself obliged to spell out and examine its assumptions' (p.74). And because of this she felt that some of the Report:

> . . . was merely rhetoric, while other parts rested on a very utilitarian view of the purpose and benefits of higher education—the language and the metaphors were those of the financier and economist, rather than the educational planner.

But the most important criticism of the Report has proved to be that it failed to examine how expanded technological education was to be a true alternative to university education.

The Martin Committee (1964) believed that 'the principal objective of the technical colleges is to equip men and women for the practical world of industry' (p.127). The Committee was also 'convinced of the need to expand the technical colleges and to provide a well-defined organizational structure for their operation'. But how this organizational structure was to differ from that of the universities remained vague and unarticulated throughout the Report.

The Committee spoke of upgrading the status of the existing technical colleges, and believed that the introduction of some liberal arts and humanities courses would help to achieve this end, as well as provide opportunities for students who wished to study administration. It also believed that, at a future time, the institute of colleges might award degrees in certain specialized areas. But the Martin Committee (1964) was adamant that the colleges should not emulate the universities:

> While the Committee is anxious that the academic status of the constituent members of Institute of Colleges should be raised . . . it insists that they should resist the temptation to copy the educational processes and curricula of universities. The Committee's proposals envisage a greater diversity of tertiary education in Australia, but any hope of achieving this diversity would be nullified if colleges attempted to transform themselves into universities. (p.184)

Menzies, in introducing the Martin Report to Parliament on 24 March 1965, reinforced the notion that the colleges and the universities should have different educational functions. He also expressed his belief that a status differential (in terms of level of award and type of student) should exist between the two sets of institutions:

> These colleges would provide for those students who, though qualified, do not wish to undertake a full university course, or whose chosen course is not considered appropriate for a university, *or whose level at passing matriculation indicated a small chance of graduation from a university in minimum time plus one year* . . .
> [Commonwealth financial support] . . . will be confined to assistance for strengthening, and expanding, and introducing, diploma courses. We have noted the Committee's suggestion that at some time in the future the new institute of colleges that it envisages may . . . provide post-diploma courses leading to degrees. But the support now pledged by the Commonwealth will not go beyond supporting the basic concept of the Committee as to new type colleges with a variety of advanced courses leading on completion to a diploma. We wish to emphasise this point . . . for we entirely agree with the Committee's statements that these new type institutions should 'resist the temptation to copy the educational processes . . . of universities'. . .
> We see these colleges as . . . teaching at the tertiary level and as catering for the diploma . . . student. (emphasis provided)
>
> (cited in Wilkes, 1965, Appendix B)

The Commonwealth Government would supply funds for advanced education to the State on a grant-sharing basis. But, as previously mentioned, it rejected the concept of a tertiary education commission, and the funding of the teachers colleges. However, it subsequently established the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education (CACAE) to oversee and co-ordinate the development of the colleges.

The Martin Report had a profound impact on the development of Australian higher education, and in many respects the CAE system has achieved the goals set for it. But it needs to be recognized that the goals which educational policy makers hope to achieve may be affected, and sometimes even subverted, by the social context in which they are introduced. Also, policy decisions may themselves alter social relations in an entirely unexpected manner. Through hindsight, it is clear that both the Martin Report and the Commonwealth Government's selective acceptance of the recommendations had several unintended consequences, particularly in the areas of student course demand, costs, sub-professional training, and CAE–university relationships.

Throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s, the demand for tertiary education increased dramatically in all fields of study. But at both the secondary and tertiary levels, the greatest increase was for courses in the social sciences and humanities (Lublin, 1977, p.59; Lee Dow, 1971). It seems that the Martin Committee may have overemphasized the technologies (particularly engineering and applied science) as opposed to other fields, and failed to anticipate the demand for social science and humanities courses. Many of the CAEs had to pour their resources into the non-technological areas in order to survive; and, at places like GIAE, this not only produced some tension between the technological and non-technological areas, but also created a situation where the goals of the Institute and those of the system were partially out of line.

The government hoped that the expansion of the role and purpose of the technical colleges would prove to be far less expensive than the expansion of the university sector. The Martin Committee (1964) stated explicitly that 'expenditure per student in non-university institutions is likely to be lower than in universities' (p.218), and predicted that the cost would be 50 per cent of the university expenditure by 1967. It based this prediction on the differences in the range of activities between the two sets of institutions, average staff salaries, and average staff–student ratios. While it is true that CAE courses have been cheaper than university courses, the CAEs also proved to have an appetite for money which exceeded the expectations of the Committee and government (McMullen, 1975, p.8). Many of the colleges existed in old, run-down buildings, and a huge amount of money had to be allocated to capital expenditure. Equipment costs, the upgrading of salary scales, and other factors also made the colleges more expensive to operate than what was originally thought, and by mid-1970 public expenditure on higher education had become an important political issue for both sectors.

The upgrading of the activities of the technical colleges (particularly in Victoria) effectively disassociated professional from sub-professional training in the technical and trade areas. Lublin (1964) asks, 'Did the Committee realize the consequences, i.e. the possibility that to enhance professional training by upgrading institutions . . . might cause students to prefer a high status award rather than to engage in sub-professional training?' (pp.70–1). Once the tertiary sections of the technical colleges were removed from the other activities and made into CAEs, they very quickly forgot their responsibilities in the sub-professional, middle-level area. By 1977 the training of technicians and para-professionals, particularly in engineering, was an important and sensitive educational issue. TAFE courses had developed to fill the gap left by the transformation of technical colleges into CAEs, which then resulted in an unhealthy competition between these two educational sectors. The recommendations of the Martin Committee disturbed the continuum of trade to professional training which had existed in the technical colleges for at least half a century.

The Martin Committee recommended the establishment of a system of education which, on the one hand, would be an alternative to university education and, on the other hand, would achieve parity of esteem with the universities. Though the Committee suggested the upgrading of a set of low prestige institutions, it also assumed that, in terms of level of award, diplomas and certificates would remain the norm. But the maintenance of a difference in educational function and level, and an equality in terms of status and prestige proved to be a difficult task.

As was discussed above, the Committee's recommendations were introduced into a context of unequal social relationships among educational institutions. In the mid-1960s, there existed a well-established hierarchy amongst educational institutions, with the universities at the apex of the structure. Within any status hierarchy, people take their reference point from the top, and it is not surprising that there developed some confusion between the processes of creating an alternative, high-status form of advanced education and emulating the universities. As the system developed, successive governments and various committees claimed that the CAEs were essentially different from the universities, while numerous students of the CAE system were intent upon showing how, in several respects, the CAEs aped the universities. It should be noted, however, that the significance of upward academic drift varied between institutions, and that the process was not only the result of the aspirations of college staff, but was also brought about by the demands of students, professional associations, and the community at large. The ramifications of this process with regard to the development of GIAE will be explored in later sections of the text.

Conflict between educational theory and practice has, to a degree, been an important feature in the development of the CAE system. Such conflict was an unintended consequence of CAE development and, of course, it would be most unusual for the development of any major system to meet the requirements of the original planners in every detail. Moreover, the Martin Committee only provided a general outline for the development of advanced education. It was up to other bodies, such as the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education and the Victoria Institute of Colleges, to refine and implement the Committee's recommendations.

The Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education and the Victoria Institute of Colleges

In August 1965 the Menzies government established the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Advanced Education under the chairmanship of I.W. Wark (later Sir Ian). Wark was previously the Director of CSIRO's Division of Mineral Chemistry, and had himself attended a junior technical school before going to Scotch College. He was also a strong advocate of science and technology, and a man who viewed the universities with some ambivalence (see Wark, 1970). The CACAE produced its First Report—generally known as the Wark Report—in June 1966. In the Report the Committee stated that if the concept of advanced education put forward by the Martin Committee was 'to be translated satisfactorily into the educational structure, it must be given a more precise and meaningful definition' (CACAE, 1966, p.19). The Committee devoted a good deal of space in its Report to devising appropriate definitions, and discussed three main issues: the status of the new colleges, the role of liberal arts and humanities in the colleges, and how they were to be an alternative form of higher education.

Under its terms of reference, the CACAE would advise the government on financial assistance for institutions, other than universities, teaching at an advanced education level—which officially meant diploma level. Though the situation in Victoria would help change the government's policy on degrees, initially the CACAE would not recommend funds for either teacher education or degree studies (CACAE, 1966, Appendix B). This meant that one institution, the South Australian Institute of Technology, had to convert existing degree courses, taught for the University of Adelaide, into diploma courses in order to qualify as a CAE (Wark, 1977, p.163). Wark fully accepted the notion of alternative, non-university higher education as it was defined by the Martin Committee and by Menzies in the government's policy speech. But the CACAE seemed to believe that the colleges should have a status and prestige much higher than that envisaged by Menzies, who had retired from government by 1966. The First Report stated that CAE's 'should aim to provide a range of education of a standard of excellence and richness of content at least equal to that of any sector of tertiary education . . .' (CACAE, 1966, p.24). The Report went on to express the hope 'that in due course some of the colleges will, in their own specialized fields, achieve international standing'. From this and other early prescriptive statements on the functions of the CAEs came the philosophy that they were equal but different to the universities.

There can be little doubt that while Wark believed the colleges should achieve excellence and distinction, they should, as well, be fundamentally different from the universities. In a letter to the ANZAAS Science Policy Commission, Wark, (1977) commented on the composition of college councils and stated:

> The staffs, given a free hand, will convert most . . . of the quite magnificent multi-purpose CAEs into universities (inevitably second-rate for the first decade or two!). They must not be given a free hand. Their councils, whose compositions are determined by the various governments, must be drawn preponderantly from the community rather than academics. The academic boards and course-assessment committees must also have strong representation from industry and commerce . . . (p.175)

It is interesting to compare the above comments with those of Murray-Smith (1969):

> It is especially noticeable that, on the councils and controlling bodies of the new institutes and colleges of advanced education, we have plenty of representatives of industry, and plenty of senior educational administrators—but hardly any teachers, students, working scientists and technologists, humanists, or experts in the economic and social analysis of educational processes. As a result communications are poor: communications with industry, communications between the universities and the colleges, communications between the councils and the employees who serve them, communications with their present and future clientele, and communications with the community. (p.225)

The difference in the two perspectives is, as will be shown, an essential aspect of the history and development of the CAE system in general and of GIAE in particular.

One way in which Wark believed that the role of the colleges would be expanded and upgraded was through the introduction of some humanities, social science, and liberal arts courses into the teaching programs. The First Report stated (CACAE, 1966):

> Liberalizing influences are fundamental to the whole concept of a college of advanced education. (p.22)
>
> In many cases their base is not yet broad enough, being mainly concentrated on the traditional 'technologies'; they would achieve greater breadth and better balance by giving greater emphasis to such fields as art, management, and social science. (p.19)

However, the Report's approach to the humanities and liberal arts was basically a utilitarian one. It advanced the concept of interdisciplinary study, with the scientist requiring some liberal education and the students taking liberal arts or social science subjects requiring some familiarity with the language and method of science. But it is unclear whether such liberalizing effects were intended to produce better individuals, or more productive managerial and technological employees for capital and industry. The Report stated that liberal arts/humanities courses would allow the student to 'become more understanding about the parts played by other people' so that he 'will find it easier to co-operate with and obtain co-operation from them' (CACAE, 1966, p.51). It was also believed that the science student requires 'more qualitative studies, studies which will enable him better to make decisions. He will have to co-operate with workmen and with trade unions: he must be equipped for this' (p.52).

The CACAE (1966) envisaged the creation of multipurpose institutions—'well-balanced development cannot come exclusively from vocational training' (p.53). It saw an 'opportunity to design individual courses to give both specialist training and a cultural and sociological background' (p.52). None the less, the Committee was not supporting the fully fledged development of the liberal arts, humanities, and social sciences in the colleges: 'we feel it would be a mistake for any one college to attempt to cover the whole field of tertiary education'. Liberal studies were to be an adjunct to the colleges' traditional role of vocational training, particularly in engineering and applied science. It is doubtful that the Wark Committee, like the Martin Committee before it, foresaw how popular liberal arts, humanities, and social sciences would prove to be with students. However, since the new universities which were established during the 1960s were heavily oriented towards the social sciences and humanities, possibly the policy makers believed that they would fully cater for the increase in demand for these courses.

In assessing how the colleges were to be equal to the universities in quality, but different from them in function, the First Report stressed the vocational and applied nature of college courses. Over the years vocationalism was to become the central philosophy of the colleges, and it was to be reiterated time and again in both official reports and in the general literature. In comparing the functions of the two sets of institutions, the CACAE (1966) stated:

> Students entering colleges of advanced education will tend to have a different outlook and different needs from those attending the universities, being more interested in the application than in the development of knowledge. They will have already decided on the career they will adopt . . . Matriculation requirements have been drawn up to differentiate between students in terms of their potential for university-type study . . .
> In a broad sense it is true that in the colleges there would be a greater applied emphasis in the courses, and that there would be less concern with the subject as a discipline and with the extension of knowledge than in the universities. The vocational purpose would be more direct and obvious . . .
> *The colleges were set up with the main object of providing specialized training for vocations* . . . (emphasis provided) (pp.22–3)

Over the years, it has been difficult to maintain the proposition that CAEs, because of their vocational base, are fundamentally different from universities. One factor which has blurred the distinguishing quality of the vocational philosophy is that Australian universities have themselves been seen as vocationally oriented and, according to some critics, too much so (see Wheelwright, 1965, p.xvii–xviii).

Menzies's efforts to keep the awards of the colleges at diploma level were being undermined before the Martin Report was even tabled in Parliament, and long before the first Wark Report was released. During the early 1960s, Henry Bolte (later Sir Henry), the then Premier of Victoria, had made higher education a major political issue. Also, while the Ramsay Committee (1963) rejected upgrading the technical colleges to degree status, it did recommend that 'a university college should be established at Ballarat . . . [and] it should be affiliated with the University of Melbourne' (p.1). The Ramsay Committee believed that if the Ballarat venture proved successful then 'the order of establishment [of university colleges] after Ballarat should be . . . Geelong, Latrobe Valley, and Bendigo'.

Woods (1978, p.68) indicates that, even before the release of the Martin Report, Bolte should have had sufficient information to know that neither the Martin Committee nor the Commonwealth was going to support the development of university colleges in Victorian provincial cities. But Bolte had made the political promise that Ballarat would have a university college. Woods (1978), summarizing an article from *The Age* (10 June 1964) regarding promises made by the Premier during the June 1964 Victorian election campaign, wrote:

> On 4 June Premier Bolte announced his government's intention to upgrade RMIT, Swinburne, Caulfield and Footscray technical colleges to degree-granting status, to develop the Ballarat School of Mines, the senior technical colleges at Bendigo, Geelong and in the La Trobe Valley into university colleges and to establish a 'central council' to govern these new colleges. 'Even if the [Martin] Committee did not support the [Victorian] Government's proposals the Government would still proceed with them'. (p.101)

Bolte was aware that the Martin Committee would recommend the establishment of institutes of colleges with the power to award some degrees, and this let him off the political hook. Before the Report of the Martin Committee had been tabled in Parliament, Bolte had established mechanisms for creating the Victoria Institute of Colleges which would have degree-granting powers written into its Act. In November 1964 the Victorian Minister of Education invited Willis Connolly (later Sir Willis) to chair a planning committee to design the VIC (Docherty, 1973, p.743). Connolly accepted the invitation and later became the Chairman of the VIC Interim Council and then the Chairman of the Permanent Council. The VIC Act was passed by the Victorian Parliament in June 1965, and the first college was affiliated with the VIC in December of that year. The Act stated that the VIC had been established 'to serve the community' by:

> . . . fostering the development and improvement of institutions offering tertiary education . . . other than in the universities of Victoria . . .
> By awarding degrees diplomas and other awards to enrolled students of affiliated colleges who have attained standards approved by the Institute . . .
> Provided that no degree shall be awarded by the Institute to any enrolled student unless that student has successfully completed a course of study which is comparable in standard (though not necessarily similar in kind) to that required for the award of a degree at the universities of Victoria. (VIC, 1967)

Dr Philip Law (an Antarctic explorer) was appointed as the VIC's Vice-President and chief executive officer in April 1966. He was a fierce proponent of technically based higher education and of the philosophy of vocationalism (see Law, 1968). In 1969 Law wrote that 'the essential characteristic of a CAE is its vocational bias. It is this that differentiates its philosophy from that of a university' (p.243). He was firmly against the introduction into the colleges of liberal arts (known as general studies in Victoria) as a course of study in its own right. Law (1969) believed that the primary purpose of advanced education was to give the student '"something to sell" to an employer . . . a firm foundation—a trade, a skill, a technique, a profession—for his survival in a competitive industrial society' (p.237). He believed that fully-fledged, non-vocational liberal arts courses would divert the colleges from their primary purpose, and if they were to be taught as such outside the universities, then they should be taught in the teachers colleges (p.244). In subsequent years, several factors—the entry of the teachers colleges into the CAE sector, the establishment of teacher education courses in VIC colleges, and the permission by the Commission on Advanced Education for some of the colleges to offer a broad range of tertiary courses—made such a position difficult to maintain (for an appraisal of the role of humanities in CAEs see Murray-Smith, 1970, p.86–7).

Law was also a defender of the equal but different philosophy, and he believed that it was essential for higher education institutions to award degrees. In this sense, as Woods (1978) indicated in an interview with Ron Parry (the VIC's first Registrar), Law was a 'university person' (p.237). Parry, who, previous to his appointment to the VIC, had had extensive experience with the New South Wales technical education system, believed that diplomas were basic, while Law thought they were secondary. Parry speculates that had he been a 'university person', diplomas would have disappeared earlier than they did. Writing in 1969, Law made his views on degree courses clear:

> There is a number of reasons why degrees are needed: the present technological pyramid of education is truncated: there should be a top to the system, extending as far as post-graduate degrees . . . Post-graduate research is needed to support industry, to stimulate staff and to provide opportunities for the more brilliant students . . . But quite apart from such reasons, *until colleges award degrees they will not have the status that I have laid down as essential for their effective functioning.* (emphasis provided) (p.241)

The VIC did not directly challenge the Federal Government's policy on degrees until 1967 when it started discussions with the College of Pharmacy for awarding a Bachelor of Pharmacy. This award was conferred in June 1968, and in that same month the Federal Government announced the establishment of a Committee of Inquiry into Awards in Colleges of Advanced Education (Wiltshire Committee). The VIC Bachelor of Pharmacy is generally regarded as a landmark in the colleges' challenge to the federal authorities with regard to awarding degrees. However, in a 1972 interview, Parry puts a slightly different slant on the matter. He notes that, after his arrival at the VIC in May 1967, his early efforts were devoted to devising mechanisms for accrediting degrees. The VIC always had the intention of awarding degrees, and the Bachelor of Pharmacy provided them with their best constructed test case. Parry believed, however, that at the time there was no real opposition from the federal authorities and that the Wiltshire Committee was appointed largely as a face-saving measure.[1]

The Wiltshire Committee tabled its Report in 1969 and discussed at length how the colleges differed from the universities and how college students were more intellectually suited to the study of the application of knowledge, than to pure research or scholarly endeavours. Nevertheless, the Report recommended that both first and postgraduate degrees could be conferred by the colleges, and that an Australian council for accreditation of awards in advanced education be established to accredit awards in the CAEs. Soon after, there was a mushrooming of degree awards in the VIC colleges, and master degree programs were introduced. In 1975, the VIC awarded 68 master degrees and, for the first time, one Ph.D. In allowing the colleges to award degrees, the VIC was adamant that they had to maintain their diploma courses, but over the years many of the diploma awards have disappeared in favour of degrees.

Another event in 1969 helped, at least in theory, to put the colleges on an equal footing with the universities. The Committee of Inquiry into Salaries of Lecturers and Senior Lecturers in Colleges of Advanced Education (chaired by Mr Justice Sweeney) presented its Report in May 1969. The Report's basic recommendation was that college staff, who held qualifications equivalent to the staff of the universities, should receive salaries which were on a parity with those existing in the universities. This, along with several other factors, led to a rapid upgrading of the staff's academic qualifications within the colleges.

A Comparative Observation

It is interesting to note that the policies around which the British polytechnics developed were based upon educational philosophies and criteria similar to the ones advanced in Australia. Anthony Crosland, Secretary of State for Education and Science, in his now famous speech given at Woolwich Polytechnic in April 1965 (reproduced in Pratt and Burgess, 1974) defined the British binary system in the following terms:

> On the one hand we have what has come to be called the autonomous sector, represented by the universities, in whose ranks, of course, I now include the colleges of advanced technology. On the other hand we have the public sector, represented by the leading technical colleges and the colleges of education . . .
>
> The Government accepts this dual system as being fundamentally the right one, with each sector making its own distinctive contribution to the whole. We infinitely prefer it to the alternative concept of a unitary system, hierarchically arranged on the 'ladder' principle, with the universities at the top and the other institutions down below. Such a system would be characterized by a continuous rat race to reach the first or university division, a constant pressure on those below to ape the universities above, and a certain inevitable failure to achieve the diversity in higher education which contemporary society needs. (pp.203–7)

He went on to state that 'the university sector will continue to make its own unique and marvellous contribution. We want the public sector to make its own equally distinguished but separate contribution.' He said there were four basic reasons why his government preferred the dual system:

> In Britain as elsewhere, there is an ever-increasing need and demand for vocational, professional and industrially based courses in higher education . . .
>
> A system based on the ladder concept must inevitably depress and degrade both morale and standards in the non-University sector . . .
>
> It is desirable in itself that a substantial part of the higher education system should be under social control, and directly responsive to social needs . . .
>
> We live in a highly competitive world in which the accent is more and more on professional and technical expertise.

Pratt and Burgess (1974), in their extensive study of the early development of polytechnics, see a 'reversal of intentions' with regard to the official policies:

> We found . . . that, though a coherent alternative to the conventional view of the development of higher education could be easily substantiated, the policy documents fell sadly short of this in practice. The policies were both ill formulated and in large part self contradictory. We had every reason to suspect that the historical process of aspiration of colleges created specifically to be different from universities would overwhelm their best intentions, and they would increasingly aspire to university status and increasingly resemble university institutions. Our analysis of the student body at the polytechnics between 1965 and 1970 confirmed our fears. (p.172)

The authors go on to note that while 'vocational and professional education has generally expanded . . . students on many courses are being or have already been shed by the polytechnics'. And they claim that 'in no sense can all the new . . . degree courses be termed vocationally rather than academically based.' They see that the 'most damning aspect of this failure is that it was predictable and preventable' (p.174) by a more accurate reading of the historical forces which had shaped British education over the last hundred years.

It is not surprising that similar criticisms have been formulated by some students of Australian advanced education. For example, Lublin (1977), in commenting on the early period of development in Australian advanced education, writes that 'by 1969 to all intents and purposes the battle by the colleges to carve their own destinies unhampered by Martin and Menzies seemed to have been won' (p.131). Woods (1978), in discussing the early development of advanced education and the VIC, goes so far as to state:

> It [VIC] was expected to preside over education that was vocationally oriented, mainly of sub-degree level, non-research-based and less prestigious than the education offered by the universities . . . the only tenet of the original VIC charter that has been unambiguously 'achieved'—more correctly . . . 'maintained'—is that the VIC colleges are, in 1978, less prestigious than universities. (p.94)

Both authors argue that the colleges have continually attempted to draw themselves closer to the universities with regard to those criteria which attract status, while simultaneously attempting to maintain their supposedly unique charter of vocationalism. This general process has, to a degree, reproduced itself within GIAE. However, as will be discussed in the following chapters, the effects of this process have certainly not been entirely negative, nor complete.

The Function of the Victoria Institute of Colleges

The VIC was established to co-ordinate and develop the affiliated colleges. The VIC Act was amended in 1967 to provide the Institute with more autonomy and 'to remove affiliated technical colleges from their . . . administrative relationship with the Education Department and to make them responsible . . . to their own governing councils and the Victoria Institute of Colleges' (VIC, 1967). Up to the end of 1980, all degrees offered by the CAEs affiliated with the VIC were conferred by the VIC. Though the VIC did not engage in teaching, in some respects it functioned like a university, having its own council/senate structure, executive branch, and the responsibility for accrediting and developing courses in its affiliated colleges.

The VIC instituted schools boards to review and accredit college courses. Because of the weakness and lack of depth to college staff in the early years of development, VIC committees also played an important role in the development of courses. As conscious VIC policy, Woods (1978) notes that the composition of early VIC course accreditation/development committees was dominated by university academics, with few college-based staff as members. This was designed to placate any criticisms on the standards of college courses. After 1968, the composition of the committees started to change 'so that by 1974 university-based academic members comprised about 40 per cent and college-based members comprised about 35 per cent of the total membership' (p.154).

Over the years many alterations to the VIC course development/accreditation procedure have occurred, with the major change taking place at the beginning of 1975. The history is outlined in the VIC Ninth Annual Report (1975):

> From the inception of the VIC until 1974 course accreditations were performed in four stages. In the first place the new course proposal was examined by a formal Course Development Committee made up of experts in the particular discipline concerned . . . The Course Development Committee reported its findings to a Schools Board . . . The Schools Board in turn reported to the Board of Studies, which made recommendations to the Council . . .
> The system of Schools Boards and Course Development Committees was terminated at the end of 1974 and replaced by a series of ten Academic Committees . . .
> One of the major purposes of the change to the new system of accreditation was to encourage the affiliated colleges to look more critically at the standards of the new courses that they put forward. In submitting new course proposals for VIC accreditation, the colleges have been encouraged under this system to constitute their own Course Advisory Committees. (p.7)

This new procedure gave the colleges more flexibility in designing their own courses, and involving people from the local community and industry in the process.

The VIC also set and reviewed the level of funds to be allocated to the colleges, and made submissions on behalf of the colleges to the Commission on Advanced Education for federal funds. Over the years, the funding process became increasingly centralized—particularly with the decision by the Whitlam government to assume full federal responsibility for the funding of all higher education from 1974. Many of the colleges have resented the centralization of the funding process, believing that the bureaucratic authorities in Canberra have little understanding of their local needs and priorities (see Harman, 1980).

Since 1978, bureaucratic arrangements for co-ordinating advanced education within Victoria have undergone change. Following the Partridge Committee's Report (see chapter 9), the functions and powers of the VIC were gradually withdrawn during the period 1978 to 1980 as legislation for the Victorian Post-Secondary Education Commission (VPSEC) was introduced. The last remnants of the VIC disappeared at the end of 1980. While VPSEC now has the responsibility of overall co-ordination of the advanced education sector in Victoria, it is much less concerned with the internal affairs of individual colleges than the VIC was. At first, many of the colleges welcomed the demise of the VIC and the introduction of VPSEC, for they believed it would give them more autonomy and flexibility. For example, after 1980, individual colleges have had the power to award their own degrees. But with the increasing uncertainty over the future direction of higher education in Australia, many of the colleges currently may wish they had the protection of an umbrella organization such as the VIC.

Conclusion

As the CAE system developed, it became difficult to attach to it a clear educational philosophy, and to distinguish its functions from those of the universities (Anderson, 1970; Batt, 1978; Harman and Smith, 1972; Lublin, 1977; Woods, 1978). This situation was given official recognition in 1972 when the Commission on Advanced Education, in its *Report for the 1973–75 Triennium*, gave its approval to the following statement:

> We believe that there are and there ought to be significant differences between universities and colleges, but that any attempt to categorise the institutions into two distinct sectors is bound to fail. There should be differences, but some overlap in the nature of courses offered and in the nature of students enrolled is unavoidable and is desirable. Moreover, tertiary institutions should be bound together by the common themes of intellectual endeavour and rational inquiry. (emphasis provided) (original statement in Karmel, 1970, p.299)

Unfortunately, the Committee did not go on to explore what 'the common themes of intellectual endeavour' were, but fell back on the common practice of defining CAEs against the universities. Many of the problems faced by the CAE system were to remain unresolved.

This chapter has presented a very brief description of the development of advanced education in Australia. Many of the issues raised will be dealt with in more detail later in the text. The main argument here, is that an understanding of the dynamics of GIAE cannot be appreciated without reference to the history and development of advanced education as a system itself.

3

THE GIPPSLAND INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED EDUCATION AND ITS REGION

Put A Light In Every Country Window

Miners tunnel to feed the fires at Wangi. Others excavate the brown coal at Yallourn. Turbine blades are yielding to the tumbling tons of Eildon and the Snowy will be finished before long.

Chorus:

Put a light in every country window; high speed pumps where now the windmills stand. Get in and lay the cable, so that one day we'll be able to have electricity all over this wide land.
Little farms and giant outback stations they are all mechanised today. For milking cows and shearing sheep, to do it fast and do it cheap, electricity is the modern way.
The old coolgardie and the red hot wood stove, they have seen their days at last. For now the ice and fire that is coming on a wire, has made them both relics of the past.

Don Henderson

The Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education is one of Australia's several regional colleges of advanced education, and one of four country colleges located in the State of Victoria. While the CAE system has been built around a philosophy of vocationalism, it has been recognized by educational policy makers that the needs and priorities of regional colleges are somewhat different from those of comparable metropolitan institutions. Australia is a country with the majority of its population concentrated in five metropolitan areas, which has resulted in a disparity with regard to the quality and extent of educational and other services available to the people of country regions. Hence, many of the regional colleges have been intent upon offering a broad range of courses, including general education courses and the liberal arts. While such action has been given official support, the educational policy makers have not been as decisive on the role and function of the regional colleges as they have been with respect to the system as a whole. There is some doubt as to the degree to which regional colleges should concentrate on a broad range of liberal arts courses or consolidate their programs around the more vocationally orientated technological fields. This general problem is exacerbated for GIAE because of the nature of the region in which it is located.

Chapter 1 emphasized the importance of the historical context, which ranges from immediate environmental factors to national educational structures, in understanding the behaviour of GIAE members. Chapter 2 provided a general sketch of the complex bureaucratic array of institutions, committees, and commissions which have had an impact on the development of the CAE system. This chapter provides a general description of the various physical and social factors which have helped shape the region which GIAE serves, with particular reference to the power generation industry and its impact on the social attitudes and economic expectations of the population.

The Physical and Social Environment

The region from which GIAE takes its name is situated in the south-eastern portion of the State, known as Gippsland. Gippsland is approximately 45 000 square kilometres in area, has a population of over 220 000 people, and stretches to the New South Wales border in the east. The Great Dividing Range forms part of the northern boundary, the region is bordered by the Mornington Peninsula in the south west and the southern portion of the region faces onto Bass Strait and the Pacific Ocean (see Figure 1). Wilson's Promontory in the south is the southern-most extremity of continental Australia.

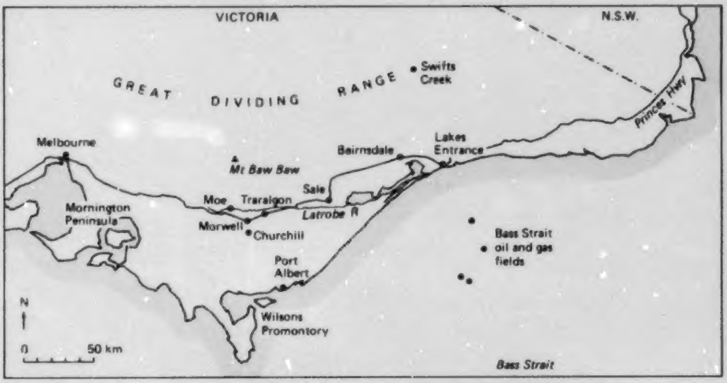
VICTORIA
N.S.W.
GREAT DIVIDING RANGE
Swifts Creek
Princes Hwy
Melbourne
Mt Baw Baw
Bairnsdale
Lakes Entrance
Sale
Moe
Traralgon
Latrobe R
Morwell
Churchill
Mornington Peninsula
Port Albert
Wilsons Promontory
Bass Strait oil and gas fields
N
0
50 km
Bass Strait

Figure 1 Victoria and the Gippsland Region

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Parts of the region are rich in natural resources, particularly the carbon-based ones. For example, the off-shore oil fields in Bass Strait, 30 kilometres from Sale, contain 70 per cent of Australia's known oil reserves.

For various historical reasons, pastoral settlement in the region came later than in many other parts of Victoria and developed more slowly (see Victoria. Central Planning Authority, 1968 pp.18–21). Settlement of many parts of Gippsland did not commence until the 1870s and, in contrast to the history of other regions in the State, a wealthy and influential squatter group did not establish itself to any significant degree in Gippsland. Until recently, the region had been given little import or status on the national scene. The relative lack of wealth and influence of those who settled Gippsland has helped to develop a tradition in which the region is unduly dependent on bureaucratic structures and political decisions imposed by forces outside the control of local residents.

Contemporary Gippsland is very heterogeneous in terms of economy, climate, local history, geography, and the characteristics of its inhabitants. The township of Port Albert in the southern part of the region is as different from that of Swifts Creek in the north-eastern section as is Darwin from Adelaide; Morwell, in the centre of the region is as different from the town of Bairnsdale 134 kilometres to the east as is Sydney from Melbourne. Any attempt to analyse the relationship between GIAE and the community which it serves in an area as large and diverse as Gippsland is fraught with obvious problems.

An attempt to tackle these problems in terms of theory and method was made in Chapter 1. The discussion below concentrates upon the economic, political, administrative, and social aspects of the region, and identifies various sub-regions. For the purpose of presenting demographic data, Central Gippsland and the Latrobe Valley have been defined in terms of government statistical area boundaries. For other purposes, Gippsland has been considered in terms of three general sub-regions: East, Central, and South Gippsland. Factors of economy, geography and social interaction help to distinguish the three areas. However, it must be stressed that identification of these three sub-regions is arbitrary; in no sense do they represent close-knit, self-contained communities.

The three sub-regions can be loosely identified in geographical terms which, in turn, contribute to the patterns of social interaction within and between the sub-regions. The Strzelecki Ranges form a natural (and probably a psychological) barrier between the Central

Gippsland sub-region and South Gippsland, and Central Gippsland is separated from the substantial part of East Gippsland by sheer distance. It is more convenient for residents of South Gippsland to transact business in Melbourne than to cross the mountain range to reach the Latrobe Valley in Central Gippsland. Also, because of the highly industrial nature of the Latrobe Valley, many of the residents of both South and East Gippsland are prejudiced against it. One resident of South Gippsland described it as the valley of fish and chips. However, exactly where the western boundary of Central Gippsland ends and the Greater Melbourne metropolitan area begins is often open to dispute.

The economy of South and East Gippsland depends heavily upon primary industry. Dairy farming is the prominent activity of the rural sector in South Gippsland while sheep and cattle grazing are more important in East Gippsland. In both sub-regions, timber gathering and milling, fishing, small businesses and tourism are significant features of the local economy. The township of Sale, situated in an area of transition between East and Central Gippsland, has recently been affected by the oil extraction activities in Bass Strait. But the economy of both East and South Gippsland is primarily rural. In contrast, the economy of Central Gippsland is based on an uneasy combination of rural enterprise and heavy industry. Outside of the Hunter Valley in New South Wales, the Latrobe Valley in Central Gippsland has one of the highest concentrations of industrial, construction, and mining activities anywhere in Australia.

The history of urban development in Central Gippsland reflects the dual nature of the economy of the sub-region (see The Latrobe Valley Study, 1962). Before the construction of the power plants in 1921, only two towns in Central Gippsland, Sale in the east and Warragul in the west, had populations of more than 2000 inhabitants. The construction of Yallourn, a town built and owned entirely by the Commission, began a process that has resulted in the evolution of two groups of towns, distinctive in function and in the character of their population (pp.11–12). The towns can be classed as (a) those dominated by activities of the SEC–Yallourn, Morwell, Moe-Newborough and more recently Traralgon, and (b) other smaller centres retaining their importance as regional centres and market towns.

GIAE is located on a 40 hectare site at the township of Churchill, in the heart of the Latrobe Valley, thus the Valley becomes the Institute's most immediate environment. It is part of the great valley of Victoria, and lies between the Mount Baw Baw in the north (rising

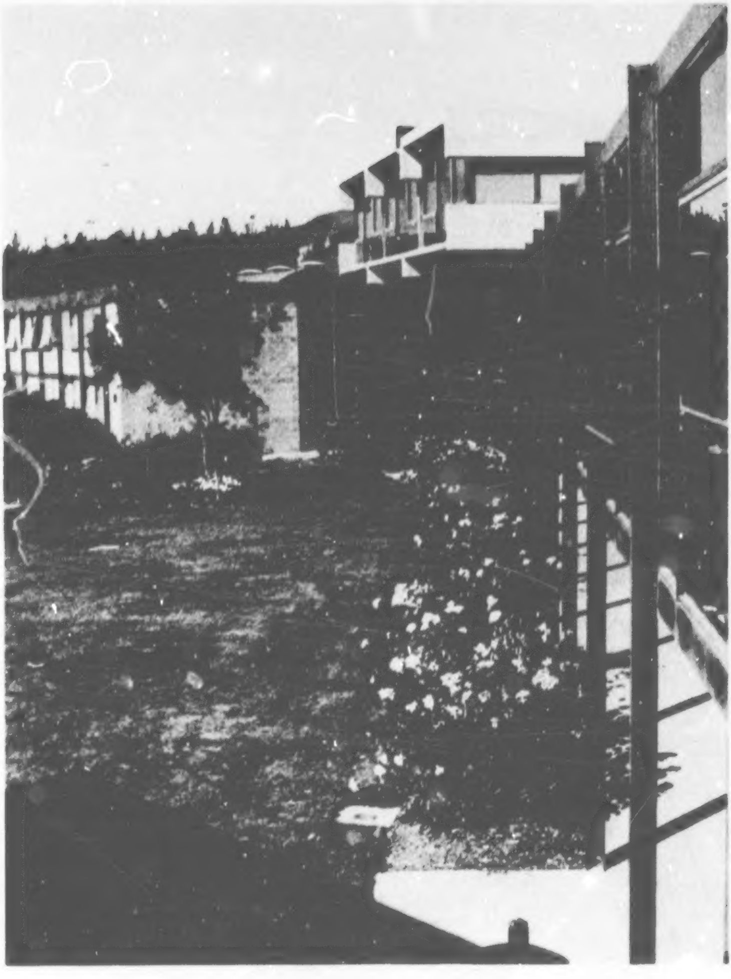

Plate 1 Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education: The Rose Garden

to an altitude of over 1525 metres) and the Strzelecki Range in the south (exceeding 610 metres). One remarkable feature of the Latrobe Valley, as with the whole region, is that it consists of several small to medium-sized towns set in rural areas. In contrast to other regions in the State, no one large provincial city dominates.

The three largest urban centres in the Valley are Morwell (population 16 800), Moe-Newborough (population 16 750) and Traralgon (population 17 510), with Moe being the furthest from the Institute—30 kilometres. Approximately 4500 people live at Churchill, 61 570 live in the whole of the Latrobe Valley, and 100 000 live within a 50 kilometres radius of the Institute.

The Princes Highway, stretching from Melbourne through the centre of Gippsland up the eastern seaboard of Australia, provides the traveller with the most direct route to the Institute. The journey by car takes approximately two and a half hours, with the first hour or so spent travelling through the city's outer suburbs. It is only after leaving the sea of tile-roofed brick-veneer homes, and the numerous milkbars, used-car yards and hotels, that the traveller becomes aware of the primarily rural, sparsely populated nature of Gippsland. The road winds its way for over 100 kilometres through rich farming and dairy country, past stud farms and small rural towns and eventually through the Haunted Hills, which form a land barrier separating the Moe swamps from the East Gippsland plains.

After topping the crest of the hill between Moe and Morwell, the traveller receives the first glimpse of the significance of the Latrobe Valley. Up to this point one feels that the rural serenity of the countryside will continue unabated: here such illusions are shattered. On the left is the former township of Yallourn, perched precariously on the eastern rim of the Yallourn open-cut mine. Smoke rises from the stacks of the Yallourn power station and plumes of steam waft out of the cooling towers of the adjacent and newer Yallourn W plant. The floor of the open cut is some 79 metres below the surface, and the black crater is more than 15.4 kilometres in circumference. In the early 1970s, it was decided that the coal underneath the town was of such value that Yallourn would have to be sacrificed to the giant three-storied high coal dredges. Since 1973, the citizens of Yallourn have found accommodation elsewhere, and at the end of 1980 only a handful of stragglers remained, compared with a population of over 4200 in 1966.

Towards Morwell the eight 137 metre high smoke stacks of the Hazelwood power station come into full view. Between the power plant and Morwell is another large open-cut coal mine. Latrobe Valley coal-fired power stations plus the Jeeralang peak load gas turbine station five kilometres south of Morwell provide the State with 85 per cent of its electricity. As demand is soon to outstrip supply, the multi-billion dollar Loy Yang station is now under construction east of Traralgon, and an even bigger and more expensive plant is being designed for the Driffield area, approximately 10 kilometres south east of Morwell.

Many Gippsland residents, particularly those who live in the Latrobe Valley, feel that the flow of resources between Gippsland and the rest of the State is extremely unbalanced. Gippsland has nearly all of Australia's oil and natural gas supplies, and about 95 per cent of the State's non-renewable energy reserves are in the form of brown coal deposits within the Latrobe Valley. However, the ultimate control over these national resources does not lie in the hands of the local people. Even the gigantic local SEC plant responds to decisions made elsewhere (the SEC's main administrative and research and development offices are located in Melbourne). The electricity produced by the Latrobe Valley dynamos drives the industry and commerce of the entire State; or, as Zubrzycki (1964, p.10) puts it, the Valley is 'the pulsating heart of Victoria's development'. But there is a feeling among many local residents that few economic and social benefits flow back into the region as compensation for the intensive industrial development occurring in their very backyards. Puffin (1975, p.60) notes that the Latrobe Valley is the 'colony and client of metropolis'.

The Latrobe Valley is often referred to as the 'Ruhr of Australia'– minus the steel mills. For critics or proponents of industrialisation alike, an image of industrial growth and development bordering on notions of 19th century European imperialism has captured the minds of the people connected with the Valley. In mid-1980, the SEC announced the possibility of the construction of 21 new power stations in the Valley over the next 50 years, and the Victorian Government signed multi-million dollar contracts for the construction of pilot coal-to-oil conversion plants.[1] Some view these planned new developments with alarm and dismay; others believe the future of the Valley, even that of the nation itself, relies on their successful completion. Like all western theories of growth and development, this one is based upon certain questionable *a priori* assumptions– particularly upon the assumption that growth in one sphere of the social structure will simultaneously sponsor development in all other spheres of the society.

Growth within the Latrobe Valley and Central Gippsland is a complex issue. 'The commercial leadership of the Latrobe Valley has been vociferous in its promotion of development and progress and of the Valley as a potential growth centre' (Puffin, 1975, p.47). However, it has been recognized for a number of years that the lack of one urban growth centre is a 'retarding factor in the growth of the

Latrobe Valley and in its ability to retain the natural growth of population within its own boundaries' (Aide, 1968, p.8).

It is difficult to distinguish between what is rhetoric and what is rational planning, based on sound technical criteria, with regard to future development and the need to expand the technically trained workforce within the Latrobe Valley. While there is no doubt that both in the Valley and in the nation as a whole, there exists a need for technically trained skilled manpower, the different forecasts as to the extent of this need vary greatly.[2] The more extreme statements on development within the region envisage a population growth of 250 000 people, with the construction of 21 new power stations and full-scale coal-to-oil conversion projects. Even within the more reasoned reports on future development, population projections range from approximately 40 000 to 100 000 new inhabitants within the Valley over the next 20 years, and workforce projections range from the need for 24 000 extra workers to 45 000 extra workers in the same period (Latrobe Valley Strategy Plan Task Force, 1981). When it comes to gearing up educational institutions to the production of skilled and professional labour, there is a grave danger for both prospective students and the institutions themselves, when rhetoric–not reasoned argument based on available evidence–becomes the basis for laying plans for the future.

None the less, it is undeniable that the history of the Latrobe Valley and of all its major institutions is intimately linked with that of the conversion of brown coal into energy. Clearly, for the last 60 years, the activities of the SEC have played the leading role in Central Gippsland's social, economic, and political life. With over 8000 full-time workers, it is the largest employer in the Valley. The projects sponsored by the SEC, like the construction of the multi-billion dollar Loy Yang works, employ another 2600 local and itinerant construction workers, as well as pumping millions of dollars into the economy. The decisions made by the SEC can either create or destroy whole communities. The second largest industry in the Valley is the Australian Paper Manufacturers Limited (APM) which was established at Maryvale in 1937 and currently employs 1730 workers. Further east at Sale, Esso-BHP employ some 3000 workers on their off-shore oil rigs. But it is brown coal and the industrial, bureaucratic, social, and economic infrastructure, which has been created for its conversion into energy, which is the most important determining factor in the Valley's past, present, and future.

Brown coal was discovered in the Latrobe Valley in 1866 or 1867 (SEC, 1949, p.15). In 1891 a Royal Commission discussed the

Plate 2 The Yallourn Power Station in the Latrobe Valley

possibility of utilizing the coal for electricity production, and a few fledgling attempts to establish briquette plants were made. However, until the 1920s, Victoria remained dependent upon black coal for electricity production, most of which was imported from New South Wales.

In 1912 it was decided to electrify the Melbourne railway system. This decision demanded that the State have available a stable and continuous fuel supply for the high amounts of energy that would be required. A prolonged New South Wales coal miners' strike in 1916 precipitated the final decision to develop the vast, though less efficient, brown coal supplies in the Latrobe Valley. The former site of the Great Morwell Coal Mining Company, devastated by fire in 1895 and closed four years later, was re-opened, and the Brown Coal Advisory Committee was established. This Committee recommended the creation of a power generation plant and open-cut mine near Morwell. In 1918 the State Parliament constituted the State Electricity Commission of Victoria (known as the Electricity Commission until 1921) to oversee these activities. 'Since that day', writes Puffin (1975, p.3), 'the SEC has been the controlling force in the urban development of the Latrobe Valley'.

Because the development of the Valley has been dependent on government and semi-government activities, the nature of its labour force is atypical in comparison with the State as a whole. A disproportionately large percentage of the Valley's workforce is classified as production process workers or labourers. In turn, the tertiary employment sectors of professional/technical, administrative/executive and clerical workers are under-represented in the Valley. In comparison with Victoria as a whole and Melbourne in particular, both the Valley and Central Gippsland contain significantly lower proportions of people with tertiary educational qualifications (Central Gippsland Regional Planning Authority, 1979).

The specialized industries linked with brown coal development employ predominantly males, and the Latrobe Valley sub-region is severely lacking in secondary industry. In 1966 the Latrobe Valley Development Advisory Committee recognized that, in order to provide balanced job opportunities, the task of government would be to encourage the expansion of secondary industry in the Valley:

> It becomes increasingly clear that these projects [government and semi-government undertakings] and the tertiary development which they create cannot supply the correct balance of employment for the area. As a result, younger people, particularly females and those tending towards lighter fields of employment, are often unable to be accommodated within the Valley. (p.24)

Even by 1980 this situation had not been corrected.

GIAE is one of the few institutions within the Latrobe Valley which has significantly increased the range of opportunities available to females. Because of the nature of the initial courses, the Institute commenced with a mainly male student body. But by 1981, of the Institute's 2387 students in approved courses, 1213 students (approximately 51 per cent) were women. In this respect, the Institute has been shaped by its environment and, in turn, has helped to change its host community. However, the relationship between

GIAE and the external environment has not always been a harmonious one. The Institute has been plagued throughout its history by a perennial conflict over its basic goals and aims, and over the appropriateness of its relationship with the industrial activities of the Valley. The Institute, being a college of advanced education, has received a charter to serve the aims and requirements of commerce and industry. But many of its members ask whether it is the role of the Institute to fit hand in glove with the needs and priorities of local industry, or to criticize the more undesirable social, economic, and environmental side effects of industrial expansion. It is no coincidence that this problem has increased in significance at a time when the SEC has started once again, to, expand operations. On the other hand, the Institute is also seen by many of its members as a 'regional college of advanced education'; a role which requires the Institute to have a broader educational base than CAEs in the metropolitan region. Some members of the industrial community question the Institute's involvement in what are seen as esoteric courses, such as, the sociology of sex roles or the politics of South America. Often, conflicts within the Institute which are viewed by members as a result of interpersonal animosities are, in reality, reflections of more basic contradictions in the wider community. Members of GIAE, similar to members of all major institutions, are caught between processes of their existential behaviour and the social structure in which they are placed.

The position of the Institute is itself symbolic of its relationship with the social environment. It is situated on the fringe of Churchill, 10 kilometres south of Morwell, on a rolling grassy slope, among well-developed gardens. Looking north-west from the campus, one can see the Hazelwood cooling ponds, with the stacks of the power plant puffing exhaust into the atmosphere. Turning slightly north looking up the road towards Morwell, one can see the now defunct coal-to-gas conversion.plant, the Morwell power station and briquette works, the Australian Char Plant with its distinctive smell of a burnt-out fireplace, and the six exhaust stacks of the SEC's gas-turbine station. Next to the Institute rests the dormitory township of Churchill, with few shops, one hotel, and a vast Housing Commission estate of uniform houses with small pockets of 'private' homes. Churchill resembles an outer suburban residential district, which has somehow lost its city. To the south-east, by contrast, is the Jeeralang Range; the Institute lies at the base of these magnificent hills. The Range is spectacular for its dense foliage, wildlife, steep-rolling hills, and physical beauty. When looking in this direction, it is difficult to imagine the intensity of the industrial development which comes into view with only a 180° turn.

The Institute in the Community

The Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education was formally established under the 1958 Education Act by an order-in-council on 24 September 1968. Educators, politicians, staff, and students have stressed the regional nature of the Institute from the beginning. Every major submission for funds, requests for the establishment of new courses, major statements of policy, etc., has emphasized that GIAE is the only centre of higher education in the State east of the Melbourne metropolitan area. State and federal authorities have, in turn, supported the advancement of the Institute as part of the bipartisan political philosophy of regionalization and the decentralization of resources.

On its establishment, GIAE assumed responsibility for the diploma and sub-tertiary courses previously offered by the Yallourn Technical College (YTC). The staff and students of the Institute shared the facilities of YTC, situated at Newborough, until they were able to occupy the first of their own buildings at Churchill in 1972. The Institute still uses the facilities at Newborough, some 30 kilometres from Churchill, for laboratory classes in engineering.

Teaching at GIAE effectively commenced in 1970, with 273 students enrolled for certificate and diploma courses in engineering, applied science, and business studies. Since then, at least in terms of student numbers, GIAE has been one of the fastest growing colleges in Victoria. The academic program has been expanded and diversified, with new courses being introduced in the social sciences, humanities, visual arts, and education. From 1972 the Institute has offered courses on an external basis. It has also initiated bachelor degree programs, provided postgraduate diploma courses and has enrolled a few students for master degrees in applied science. Table 1 lists GIAE student enrolments by mode of study for the years 1970 to 1981.

Naturally, for such a young institution, each yearly intake of new students marks an occasion of some import. Those responsible for the selection of students in 1981 hoped that over 200 full-time internal students would present themselves for enrolment in the various undergraduate programs. However, only 101 students arrived on the day set aside for this purpose.

Table 1 GIAE Student Enrolments by Mode of Study (Full-time, Part-time, External) **for the Years 1970 to 1981**[a]

	Bachelor and diploma students				Postgraduate diploma and master students[b]				
Year	FT	PT	Ext	Total	FT	PT	Ext	Total	Total college
1970	156	117		273					273
1971	220	168		388					388
1972	230	147	94	471					471
1973	246	167	158	571					571
1974	381	206	363	950					950
1975	467	175	721	1363					1363
1976	539	127	791	1457	24			24	1481
1977	715	111	893	1719	57	4	39	100	1819
1978	601	161	1241	2003	28	3	94	125	2128
1979	582	128	1514	2224	45	4	107	156	2380
1980	507	120	1605	2232	26	15	108	149	2381
1981	499	165	1537	2201	18	8	77	105	2304

[a] Excluding single course and short course enrolments.

[b] The Institute has had only two or three Masters students at any one time.

Source: Years 1970–75, Association of Principal Officers of Regional Colleges of Advanced Education; 1976–79, Victoria Institute of Colleges. *Annual Report*; 1980–81, Official GIAE student statistics.

Even though approximately 60 new full-time students enrolled late in the undergraduate program, this did not help to relieve the feeling of disappointment. The 1981 figures only helped to confirm a trend that has developed over a number of years. The Institute achieved a peak of over 700 full-time undergraduate students in 1977. By 1980 the figure had dropped to 507, and the Institute started the 1981 academic year with only about 500 full-time students enrolled for bachelor and diploma courses.

GIAE is not the only institution in Australia to experience a drop in the number of full-time students. In the last five years nearly all higher education institutions have felt the effect of the decline of students going directly from high school into full-time tertiary studies. This phenomenon is due, in part, to demographic trends. With the last remnants of the post-war baby boom passing through the schools and the fact that Australia is approaching zero population growth, fewer students are becoming available for higher education. Also, in contrast to some other western industrial nations, Australia recruits a smaller percentage of its population into higher education.

While the number of students straight from secondary school has declined dramatically, there has been a sustained demand over the years for students wishing to participate in the Institute's external studies program. In 1972 the Institute commenced external studies with 94 students. By 1980 the college had over 1600 external students in diploma and bachelor degree programs and 108 external students enrolled for the graduate diploma in education (over 80 per cent of the student body). Without the development of the external studies program, GIAE would probably not have survived as a viable educational institution.

The establishment of the external studies program at GIAE was motivated by the regional nature of the area. The first Council was charged with establishing a regional college and had to consider how to reach out to prospective students in a region as large and diverse as Gippsland. It is no coincidence that the Council chose, in its first Director, a man with extensive experience in the administration and establishment of external studies programs. External studies became the vehicle for outreach, the mechanism by which diversity and distance could be overcome in offering higher education to the people of Gippsland. External studies would allow the Gippsland Institute to become a truly regional college.

By 1980 there was a feeling among some members of the Institute that, paradoxically, the success of the external program in attracting students was eroding the regional base of the college. In recent years there has been a trend for external students to come from the eastern suburbs of Melbourne, and by 1980 50 per cent of students taking some or all of their units externally lived outside Gippsland. In 1977 two-thirds of external students resided in the Gippsland/Mornington Peninsula region. The decision to promote GIAE in the metropolitan area was made in 1978, and by 1980 approximately 31 per cent of external students lived in the metropolitan suburbs, 8 per cent in western Victoria, 4 per cent in north east Victoria and 5 per cent lived out of the State.

Although the actual number of external students residing in both Gippsland and non-Gippsland areas has increased over the years, in proportional terms the shift has been towards students living outside the region. In 1980 approximately one-quarter of new full-time internal students had completed their secondary education at a Melbourne high school.

In contrast to the supposedly 'pure academy' of the universities, the CAEs were established to be 'practical' and 'applied' in their teaching and course development. It was asserted on the creation of the CAEs that they were to be 'unashamably vocational' and were to serve the practical needs of commerce, industry, and the community in general. The majority of external students at GIAE are enrolled for courses in the schools of business, education, and social sciences, with many of these students taking academic programs resembling a general university B.A. degree. The more specifically vocational and technically oriented subjects in engineering and applied science have been less popular with students (see Table 2). Some members of the Institute feel that because of the industrial nature of the Latrobe Valley and the organization's charter as a CAE, its long-term future lies in the advancement of the technologies, and that the general arts type subjects are better left to the universities. While this course of action is believed by some members to be the way to attract back to the Institute full-time students from the Gippsland region, other members strongly disagree.

The theme of conflict between 'general' education and specific 'vocational' education, between the 'liberal' and the 'technological', between the 'pure' and the 'applied', has shaped the Institute's history. The resolution of this conflict–which is a continuing process–will certainly shape the institution's future.

Table 2 All GIAE Effective Full-time Tertiary Student[a] Enrolments in each School for the Years 1970 to 1981
(not including single course or short course enrolments)

Year	Humanities & social sciences	Business	Education	Visual arts	Applied science	Engineering	Total EFTS
1970		21			24	170	215
1971	31	45		29	36	148	289
1972	94	47		54	35	121	351
1973	147	42		72	34	114	409
1974	306	105		102	36	117	666
1975	317	123	181	127	60	107	915
1976	267	160	328	105	77	85	1022
1977	292	174	505	119	93	110	1293
1978	309	223	521	102	97	124	1376
1979	323	274	548	120	93	144	1502
1980	408	323	383	106	83	154	1457
1981	361	355	338	96	91	167	1408

[a] EFTS are units used for funding purposes. A full-time student counts as 1.0 unit, and a part-time or external student as 0.5 unit.

Source: Years 1970–75, Association of Principal Officers of Regional Colleges of Advanced Education; 1976–79, Victoria Institute of Colleges. *Annual Report*; 1980–81, Official GIAE student statistics.

The Institute started operation through its inheritance of a technological system of education of long standing. Its initial teaching and administrative staff, some 25 people, were either previous employees of the Education Department at YTC or new recruits who had had extensive experience with other technical colleges. Many of these individuals had been long-term residents of the Gippsland region before the establishment of GIAE. For example, the current Dean of the School of Engineering and Applied Science taught at YTC as did his father before him. The Institute's Deputy-Principal was a member of the YTC administration for a number of years. One member of the sociology staff graduated from Moe High School, and was employed by YTC before joining GIAE. In 1980, 15 of these original employees still remained at the Institute, most in positions of responsibility.

However, many of the members of academic staff recruited to the Institute since 1970 have come from social and intellectual backgrounds significantly different from those of the original staff. Very few had worked for the Education Department. Their experience has been with universities and other higher education institutions, with several individuals holding the degree of Ph.D. It would be unwise to view the two groups of staff as distinct and mutually exclusive. None the less, an understanding of the tensions which are a result of the interaction of groups with different intellectual orientations, traditions, and philosophical beliefs–between what Gouldner (1958) has termed the 'local' and the 'cosmopolitan' academic–is essential to an understanding of the history and development of the institution.

The conflict is by no means contained within the walls of the institution, nor is it confined to the activities of present staff members. Rather, it is a result of an interactive process between the Institute and its environment. It takes place within the context of the history of the organization and the Gippsland region, and is influenced by local, state and national politics and the various forces which help to shape the Institute's stated educational goals and aims. And its resolution is cyclic, rather than conclusive; it is a process of oscillation between polar extremes. To understand the dynamics of the institution and the problems faced by its leaders as they attempted to charter the organization's future course, we need to go back several decades to the establishment of YTC.

4

ANCESTRY AND HERITAGE

By the end of 1972, the new institution was well enough established for the GIAE Council to consider how to present its official history in the Calendar and in VIC publications. It would seem that such a task would sponsor little controversy. However, in the consideration of how to write the Institute's history, two different points of view emerged: first, that Council should publicly state in chronological order the roots out of which the Institute grew, and second, that it should publicly state that the Institute was a new concept with its own establishment date (to be the only date stated).

Up to the end of 1972, official publications stated that GIAE was founded in 1968. However, the Institute's Graduate Association was strongly of the opinion that the history of the organization should reflect the achievements of staff and students at YTC. In February 1973, Mr N.J. Lobley, on behalf of the Graduate Association, presented Council with the following motion:

> This Council records that the School of Engineering and Applied Science of the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education was established in 1929 and that the recorded history and any published background of the Institute should reflect this fact.[1]

Many of the members of Council, because of their connection with both the SEC and YTC, were sympathetic to this notion, as was staff of the School of Engineering and Applied Science. The Director, Mr Max Hopper, however, was not. He came to the Institute in mid-1970 as an outsider and, therefore, did not feel the weight of local history as much as many of the long-term Gippsland residents. More importantly, Hopper saw that his task was to build a new institution and, in this regard, it needed to be an institution with a distinctive history and character. He was required to build an institution whose image differed dramatically from that of the departmentally controlled technical college. In February 1973, Hopper presented the following written response to Lobley's motion to Council:

> Although Mr Lobley's motion appears to me to be based on wrong premises, it nevertheless gives expression to what has been a persistent and, I

> believe, genuine concern of a small group of staff who were previously employed in the Technical Division of the Education Department. The constant cause of their concern, now shared by the diplomates of Yallourn Technical College, has clearly been the fundamental difference in approach between that necessary in promoting the image of an autonomous college of advanced education and that which would be appropriate if our primary concern were the preservation of a technical college image . . .
> Whatever policy the Council adopts is unlikely to please all of the people all of the time but it should at least attempt to achieve a cohesive image which might make it possible for all sections of the Institute to move forward together in the main-stream of developments in Australian tertiary education.[2]

However, it was not easy to exorcise the ghost of YTC from the halls of the new college of advanced education. First, Council did accept Mr Lobley's motion, although at the time this did not in any way affect Hopper's efforts to construct a college with a new and different image. More importantly, just seven years later the Director was again searching for a new image for the college. This time it was one which emphasized the technologies and the role of engineering and applied science, and he was to turn for support to the staff in these schools—the very same people whom he believed in 1973 to have held an image of the college based on wrong premises.

It is essential to understand how the Institute has, over the years, searched for a 'cohesive image which might make it possible for all sections of the Institute to move forward together'. This has been a somewhat vain search, but the problem does not lie with either members' lack of creative imagination or lack of commitment to the institution. Rather, various forces, not the least of which is the institution's own history, seriously complicate the attempt to formulate unified goals and aims. As Cohen and March (1974) have indicated, the primary goals of higher educational institutions always remain ambiguous and resistant to precise specification. Such institutions are, according to these two authors, 'organised anarchies'—not rational bureaucracies with an identifiable technology designed to produce a pre-specified output or product. In fact, institutional leaders may find themselves in difficulty if too much emphasis is placed on creating a unified image.

None the less, the image an institution has of itself and the manner in which members articulate basic goals and aims are important. If institutional leaders insist upon members accepting a unified image of the organization in a situation where opposing goals and images compete with one another on an institutional-wide basis, deep-seated conflict is the result. The more energy which members put into advancing one image over another and the longer opposing goals compete for members' allegiance, the more intractable the conflict becomes. Much of the dynamic of GIAE centres on the institution's failure to construct one image and set of goals which can transcend all others and bind members to a common purpose.

Yallourn Technical College

Effectively, GIAE's search for an image commenced in 1927 when negotiations began for the establishment of a technical school at Yallourn. On the 21 June of that year an *ad hoc* committee of local citizens interested in establishment of technical education at Yallourn put their case to the Technical Schools Inspector, Mr Donald Clark. The negotiating team was led by the town's most influential resident, Mr R.D. Dixon (Assistant Superintendent of SEC undertakings). Other members of the negotiating team were also officials of the SEC.

The School Council was gazetted on 11 May 1928, and Dixon became the first President—a position he held until 1938. In addition to the President and the acting Principal (Mr D.G. Lyon), the first Council comprised the District Inspector of Schools and seven officials of the SEC. In 1932 Mr C.H. Beanland was appointed as the first permanent Principal, a position he held until December 1942.

By 1928 the control of technical education was in the hands of the Education Department of Victoria. However, the councils of the technical schools retained a significant degree of influence over the direction and development of the schools. This was certainly the case at Yallourn, with the interests of the Council and of the Commission being one and the same. The initiative for establishing a technical school came from key employees within the SEC, and the aims and content of the courses subsequently taught mainly reflected the Commission's requirements. Even in 1970 the Handbook of Yallourn Technical College (as the School was known after 1956) stated that the School 'was established . . . mainly to provide vocational training for employees of the State Electricity Commission'. In 1930, the President of Council explained to the Minister of Education that 'Yallourn being a large and important engineering centre it is only natural that engineering subjects should take precedence in importance over all others.'[3] The School recruited many of its students from SEC employees and apprentices, and SEC staff taught part-time evening courses in both apprentice (commenced in 1929) and non-apprentice subjects.

The School began instruction in commercial and general subjects of its first 62 students on 29 May 1928 and, for the first six months, classes were taught two nights a week in temporary accommodation in the hall of Yallourn's St Andrew's Church. From its humble beginning the School advanced quickly. The first full-day secondary course was introduced in 1933, when 15 boys started the preliminary engineering course—the forerunner of the junior technical course established in 1935. The first diplomas in electrical and mechanical engineering were awarded in 1934 and 1935 respectively.

The School was orientated to the vocations in both theory and practice, but within its vocational framework it pursued multiple goals. The courses taught were organized around two basic aims: (l) the completion of a prescribed trade course and (2) for those who would proceed further, the completion of a professional engineering course leading to the expert's certificate or a diploma. The Diploma in Engineering was recognized by the Australian Institute of Engineers and by the University of Melbourne. In the extensive study of Australian tertiary education, Williams (1978) called for greater transportability of students' course credits between institutions. It is interesting to note that in the mid-1930s, a person with an engineering diploma from Yallourn Technical School could proceed with an engineering or science degree to the University of Melbourne and receive university credit for his college courses.

While the primary aim of the School was to educate youths at trade or diploma level, it also provided programs which could generally be termed as adult education. Today, post-secondary education is structured around three distinct spheres: the universities, the CAEs, and TAFE. Unfortunately, competition and lack of co-operation is often the distinguishing feature of the present structure. Within Victoria, one- and two-year certificate courses and the area of adult education has, in general, become the responsibility of the TAFE sector. There is a feeling among some members of GIAE that they should be doing more to provide non-degree, general education types of programs, but are prevented from doing so because of sector rivalry and the restrictions imposed by government with regard to the use of funds provided for approved courses. This topic will be discussed in more detail later. Here, however, it is worthwhile to note the wide range of teaching responsibilities which developed at the Yallourn Technical School.

In the 1936 Handbook it is stated that one of the aims of the

School was to provide courses 'for those who wish to employ their leisure time in developing their knowledge of some of the arts and crafts'. Craft courses in the areas of leather work, ticket writing (design and lettering of show cards), stencilling, and wood staining were offered. The School also took a direct responsibility for the adult education of SEC employees. In a letter to the Minister of Education (dated 21 February 1929) the President of Council explained the School's position:

> As far as I am aware the technical schools aim mainly at turning out a more or less finished product by passing youths through a diploma course, but we aim at something in addition to meet our special needs. We have in Yallourn men who are getting on in years, who feel neither willing nor able to take a complete course but who would be extremely grateful for the opportunity of taking some special course which would more fully fit them to carry out their duties with greater satisfaction to themselves and more efficient services to their employer.
>
> Some of the courses we have in mind are—boiler attendants—engine drivers—electricloco drivers—mechanical shovel, dredge, and drag line operators, plant attendants, linesman, etc.; if men can understand the theoretical reasons for many of the duties which they more or less perfunctorily perform it gives them a greater love for their job than they would otherwise have.[4]

Accepting the fact that Yallourn was an SEC-dominated community, the Technical School was very much a multipurpose community-orientated institution. The needs of industry and capital were, as the above comments indicate, all pervasive in the minds of those who designed and ran the School. The patronizing nature of the employer/employee relationship cannot go unnoticed. The CAEs in Victoria inherited the technical system of education and, accordingly, have been criticized for being too closely linked to the narrow interests of capital and industry (Birrell, 1974). But within the vocational framework, the technical system was probably more flexible than most people give it credit for.

Besides the courses mentioned above, the School taught art and applied art, art for school teachers, a farm mechanics course, commercial courses (book-keeping, shorthand and typewriting), German language, and dressmaking. The 1936 Prospectus says that the commercial course 'proves a good training ground for clerical assistants for the State Electricity Commission'. Dressmaking, however, was designed more for the 'existential' development of the individual than to foster the skills required by local industry. As the Prospectus (Yallourn Technical School, 1936) records:

> Technical classes help girls and women to overcome their clothing problems, so that they have the power in their hands to deal with later problems unaided. They can add to their knowledge of the styles which suit them, or learn to be the complete mistress of the sewing machine, if that is their difficulty. (p.18)

On the other hand, the language course—because of the Germanic content of the technical literature–was specifically designed for SEC personnel, as is the present short course in German at GIAE.

While the School was multipurpose in the vocational sphere, it resisted any attempt at amalgamating its vocational interest with the broader academic 'non-vocational' aims of the state elementary school. The conflict over the philosophy and content of technical and academic education raged at the state level throughout the first half of this century. In the Education Department the tension between the philosophical and pedagogical views of technical and general educators was acute, and it often spilt over into the public arena (see Nation, 1978; Woods, 1978; and Lublin, 1977). But the Chief Technical School Inspectors—first Clark and later Eltham—believed in narrowly defined specialist, vocationally orientated education for the technical schools, and they held firmly to the notion that the goals of technical schools had to be tied to those of local industry. The technical educators believed that vocational and liberal studies could not be mixed and, if they were, the latter would somehow corrupt the former (Nation, 1978). The technical educators saw a student career as proceeding along one of two routes. 'Once a boy reaches the Merit Certificate standard', according to the Principal of Yallourn, 'there are two distinct pathways ahead, one leading to a professional or teaching occupation per medium of the higher elementary and high school, the other to tardes (sic), engineering or Draughtmanship vocation per medium of the technical school'.[5]

As mentioned in Chapter 2, there have been numerous critics of the Victorian binary system (secondary) of technical and academic education. They have complained not only about the fact that students were streamed at an early age into one of two mutually exclusive forms of education, but also that those students who entered technical schools were primarily from working-class families. One member of the YTS Council believed that the School enabled 'the not so well-to-do, but intelligent, youth to carve out a career.'[6] But, as the first Registrar of the VIC has commented, if it had not been for the Victorian binary system, CAEs would probably never have eventuated.[7]

In 1929 the Education Department suggested that the technical school and the state school share facilities. The President of Yallourn Technical School Council, however, rejected such a proposal. He felt that 'there is . . . the difficulty that the teacher in charge will be biased in favour of the particular section to which he is attached'.[8] Within GIAE today, there is a good deal of conflict over the degree to which liberal and technical studies can be mixed. Some staff within the institution feel that the Institute has been led too far in the liberal direction and, because of the intense industrial development planned for the Valley, they feel that a redirection of effort and resources into the technologies must be made.

The rationale for emphasizing technology subjects is that therein lie the employment opportunities for graduates. There is nothing new about this argument, as a teacher involved with secondary work at the Yallourn Technical School demonstrates in his letter to the Editor of the *Live Wire* (21 May 1931):

> Almost simultaneously . . . [higher elementary] classes and the Technical School opened in 1928. The first difference of opinion arose when an attempt was made to take pupils from our classes in order to build up the other school. I advised parents . . . that all children should attempt to gain their Intermediate Certificate before going to the Technical School . . . I believed then, and I still believe that, as it will be impossible for the Commission to absorb all our children, some will have to leave Yallourn and that a good general education would open far more avenues of employment than any specialised course would do.

There is a feeling, by some, that because of the industrial nature of the Latrobe Valley, the educational opportunities within the region are unique. Time and again during the period of field research I heard both representatives of the SEC and the Institute address public meetings, service organizations, local schools, and so on, with the intention of convincing people that any student who studied mathematics and science at the HSC level and enrolled for a technology subject at Gippsland Institute would have his/her future secured. Also, there was a certain urgency in these requests; the process of development itself would be retarded by the lack of appropriately trained skilled manpower. For example, in July 1980 Mr George Bates, the SEC's area administration manager told a careers forum at Morwell High School:

> There is no doubt there will be continuing development in the Latrobe Valley providing a range of career opportunities unequalled anywhere else in Victoria . . .
> Students and teachers must get themselves in tune with the region's industrial climate. They must ensure they keep open their career options . . . and for technology based industries that means continuing in the maths science stream . . . (*Latrobe Valley Express*, 31 July 1980)

For several years, GIAE has sought capital funds from the various educational authorities for the construction of an engineering building on the Churchill campus. In a letter to the Victorian Minister of Education supporting the Institute's request for funds, the President of Council stated:

> The Council of the Institute believes that it cannot further delay the establishment of adequate engineering facilities on the Churchill campus of the Institute, so that it will be in a position to meet the demands which will be made upon the Institute by the immense industrial developments planned for the Latrobe Valley . . .[9]

In various press releases, the SEC stressed that the Institute's professional engineering courses were vital to the present and planned future operations of the SEC.

The above attitudes and opinions are not, however, in any sense new. Members of the YTS Council were saying the same in the 1930s for the purpose of advancing that educational institution. It needs to be remembered that the School was established at the beginning of the great depression in Australia. Public money was scarce and the School had to campaign vigorously for its resources. In order to receive finances for its building program, the School had to solicit support from the Director of Education, the Minister of Education, the Commissioner of the SEC, various politicians and the local unions—a process which has continued unabated throughout the years.

The School's first campaign for permanent buildings came to a head in 1933. Through the initiative of the local member of the Legislative Council, the School Council was able to induce Mr J.W. Pennington, Minister of Education and Mr E.P. Eltham, Chief Inspector of Technical Schools, to visit Yallourn in May 1933 to assess the need for buildings. In their meeting with the Minister, the Council had prepared a number of statements in defence of increased expansion of technical education at Yallourn.

> The possibilities for the successful development of technical education at Yallourn are unique so far as small country centres are concerned for the following reasons:
>
> (1) the highly technical nature of the great undertakings of the Electricity Commission, giving employment to large numbers of technically trained experts, skilled craftsment and apprentices, clerical staff and lesser skilled employees;
>
> (2) anticipated rapid growth of the town with a return to better industrial conditions, owing to continued expansion of the Commission's activities;
>
> (3) the recognition by the State Electricity Commission of the necessity for adequate technical training of its employees . . .[10]

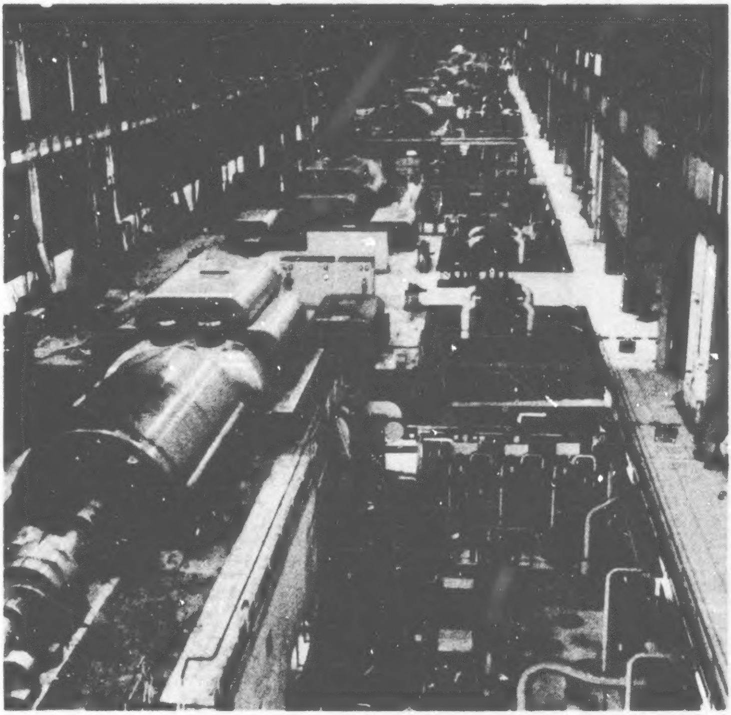

Plate 3 Interior of Hazelwood Power Station

Council members also stressed the regional nature of the School, stating that 'industrially and geographically Yallourn is the centre of Gippsland' and that 'there is no technical school between Sale and Caulfield'.

After hearing the Council's arguments, the Minister immediately stated that, if the SEC would contribute 25 per cent of the cost, he felt sure he could obtain Cabinet approval for the expenditure of the balance from unemployment relief funds. Dixon felt that 'the principle of requiring either the residents of the area or another state department to contribute towards the cost of buildings for which the Education Department was responsible was ethically unsound'. He also believed that such an opportunity for gaining funds would not present itself again and thought it best to accept the Minister's proposition. He wrote to the Secretary of the SEC to this effect.[11]

The SEC accepted the Minister's terms and provided a building site and the sum of £2000 towards construction costs. Construction of the new buildings commenced in September 1935. The foundation stone was laid by Mr R. D. Dixon on the 18 December 1935 and the School was officially opened by the Minister of Public Instruction on the 13 May 1936.

Over time, the School started to serve the educational needs for industries other than the SEC. With the establishment of the APM in 1937 at Maryvale, the School trained apprentices for that organization, and members of the APM sat on the School's Council. But in terms of students, courses, and political influence, the SEC remained the single most powerful external force throughout the School's history.

By 1954 the School's enrolment had increased to 1137 pupils, and it was realized that the Yallourn site could no longer cope with the required expansion. An area of 35 acres was purchased by the Education Department at East Newborough, and in 1957 the secondary section of the school was renamed the Yallourn Technical College. Enrolments had increased to 1547 students with the College employing 43 full-time staff. In 1964 the senior trades block was completed and occupied at the Newborough campus, and in 1965 the transfer from Yallourn was completed with the occupation of new buildings for the teaching of diploma students.

Conclusion

In Part III, GIAE's history and development as a new institution will be discussed in detail. In the present chapter, the Institute's ancestry has been briefly sketched, and the historical roots of its present dilemma outlined. Not only does the production of professionals in engineering and applied science go back to the 1930s in the Latrobe Valley, but the relationship between technological education, the development of tertiary educational institutions, and the industries related to brown coal is one of long standing. Throughout most of the history of tertiary education in the Valley, the SEC and the various development projects which it sponsors have had significant influence.

Currently, the SEC is planning new large-scale developments in the Valley, and one of the primary problems facing GIAE teachers is how much emphasis and resources to transfer to vocational, specialized education in the technologies. It is not surprising that these phenomena have occurred simultaneously. So far, the influence of local industry on higher education in the Valley has not produced an institution with a distinctive reputation and expertise in the sciences and technologies, nor one that has the ability to attract a large number of students, from either near or afar, into these areas. Moreover, the history of technological development coupled with the exploitation of natural resources—both within the Valley and elsewhere—has not lived up to its economical and social promises. The general feeling among people within the Latrobe Valley is that they are about to experience a large-scale economic boom. However, it is questionable what proportion of the local population will actually benefit from this boom. Despite all the massive SEC developments which have occurred in the last 50 years, the Latrobe Valley still lacks significant secondary industries, a professional infrastructure, and a broad range of employment opportunities, particularly for young people and females. Opportunities to benefit from cultural activities—theatre, dance, art museums, etc.—are severely limited in the Valley. Shortly before his departure from GIAE in 1978, the former Dean of Business and Social Sciences, commented that the Valley:

> . . . was an area that was merely geared for short term industrial and economic needs but was not seen as a community in its own right . . .
>
> It is a very crude, basic community which is concerned mainly with material well being.[12]
>
> There is a cultural vacuum. The only culture here is competitive sport.

GIAE, in many important ways, helps to fill the 'cultural vacuum'. The Institute provides a venue for various community activities: art and pottery shows, poetry and music recitals, children's book displays, and so on. Members of staff sponsor public seminars, give guest lectures at community service clubs, write articles for local newspapers, and appear on regional television programs. These activities allow staff to engage in and extend debate on important local public issues. Social research projects of concern to the region undertaken by members of GIAE, such as the *Central Gippsland Social Survey* (GIAE, 1975) and the *Life in the Latrobe Valley* (Puffin, 1975), receive sustained media coverage, which, in turn, helps to win approval and prestige for the Institute in the wider community. During state and national election campaigns, GIAE is one of the primary points of call for touring politicians. GIAE staff have undertaken valuable research on the history of the region, which helps to sponsor interest by local residents in their cultural heritage. In these and many other ways, the existence of GIAE expands the social and cultural horizons of local residents. The fact remains that the local population is primarily working class, not as well educated as people in other regions of the State, and is placed in a dependent position in relation to government and semi-government bureaucracies (see Puffin, 1975). The dilemmas which GIAE leaders must resolve in constructing a role and image for the institution are complex indeed.

PART III

METAMORPHOSIS: A NEW INSTITUTION FROM AN OLD STRUCTURE

5

A NEW IMAGE

The Foundation of the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education

After Menzies accepted the recommendation of the Martin Report regarding the creation of CAEs, the Commonwealth Government agreed to share recurrent funding on a 1:1.85 basis and capital funding on a 1:1 basis between itself and the States. Because of the nature of federal funding, according to the Director, the GIAE Council had no choice but formally to separate itself physically and structurally from YTC:

> Capital funds provided at that time . . . were specifically earmarked for tertiary operations. The Council was informed that the sub-tertiary sections of the Yallourn Technical College comprising . . . a secondary school of 800 students and a trades section of 1000 students would remain at the Yallourn Technical College site at Newborough, and would continue to be staffed and funded by the Education Department of Victoria. In these circumstances the Council of the Institute had no alternative but to negotiate the formal separation of the Technical College from the Institute.[1]

Hopper went on to note that this arrangement differed from a number of other VIC colleges where the council of the tertiary institution continued to exercise some form of oversight of the Education Department's sub-tertiary operation and accepted some form of responsibility for the sub-tertiary sections.

The separation of GIAE from the technical college was due to more than the Institute's Council merely responding to an official direction. Council members and the Institute's first Director saw the need for an autonomous institution, with high academic stature and free from the stigma of an Education Department controlled technical college. It was thought at the time that a new institution with a character and image dramatically different from that of YTC was the only way of attracting tertiary students from the Gippsland region.[2]

The first mention of a college of advanced education for Gippsland was made in March 1966. The State Premier, the Honourable Henry Bolte, in an address at the opening of the newly constructed YTC diploma block, mentioned that the College might one day become a CAE. According to the then President of YTC Council (who later became the first President of the GIAE Council), Mr J.J. Robertson, this was news to the local population.[3] However, Robertson was not approached with regard to upgrading the College to CAE status until 1968.

The VIC was charged under its Act with the responsibility of fostering the development of tertiary education other than in the universities of Victoria, and of making recommendation to the Governor in Council on any matter relating to such education. Thus, when the Principal of YTC made a request in November 1967 for approval to appoint architects to plan building projects for the tertiary division at Newborough for the 1967/69 triennium, it was considered by the VIC. The VIC's Buildings Committee examined the Principal's request on 6 March 1968. In so doing, it noted that at its meeting on 26 February 1968 the VIC Council resolved: 'that a VIC Committee . . . be set up to investigate and report upon the whole question of requirements for a college of advanced education for the Gippsland region'.[4] The Buildings Committee resolved that any recommendation for the expansion of YTC should be considered in relation to the Council's resolution, and the Vice-President of the VIC, P. G. Law, wrote to the President of the YTC Council to this effect in March 1968. From this point onwards the negotiations for a Gippsland CAE primarily involved Robertson and Law. The Principal of YTC, E.L. Scott, did not feature in the discussions.

Robertson became a member of the Joint Committee to Investigate Needs in Advanced Education of Eastern Victoria.[5] However, the title of the Committee is somewhat misleading in terms of its actual function. The Committee was not really charged with making a thorough examination of the educational needs of Gippsland, but with how best to get a CAE underway. As Robertson was the only person on the Committee with knowledge of the local area, he assumed the responsibility for choosing the site. In correspondence and memoranda, the Committee was termed the 'VIC Site Committee', and the 'Yallourn Technical College Site Committee', indicating that the main priority was location rather than the assessment of educational needs.

After the establishment of the joint committee, events moved quickly. Its first meeting was held on 16 May 1968 and, on 24 July 1968, Law advised the Minister that 'the establishment of a new college of advanced education to absorb the Yallourn tertiary facilities and to meet the total needs of advanced education in Eastern Victoria is justified'.[6]

During the short life of the joint committee, Robertson surveyed possible sites at Traralgon, Moe, Newborough, and Churchill. Further development on the Newborough site was excluded as a possibility for there was not sufficient space. The sites at Moe and Traralgon which were available consisted of flat, uninteresting land. The Churchill site, with its rolling hills and sweeping views, was far more attractive.

At that time, the Churchill site was out in the middle of nowhere. There were only approximately 350 houses in the township and 10 shops. As late as December 1967, private enterprise displayed a marked reluctance to participate in the development of Churchill, and all initiatives were entirely dependent on the Housing Commission (Aide, 1968, p.33). But there was an expectation, at least by Robertson, that the growth of Churchill would take off. It was assumed that Morwell had reached its limit of growth, for the only possible area of expansion there was a swampy site, which has since been drained and is now a high quality housing district called the Bridle Estate. The middle class chose to live there rather than in Churchill. Morwell went ahead while Churchill languished for a number of years.

Robertson not only had faith in the growth of Churchill, but also had it in mind to choose a site central to the Valley:

> I never thought about moving to Rosedale, for example. Also, I wanted the College near the SEC—which is the backbone of the Valley. There would be nothing here if it were not for the SEC—it would be bare paddocks.[7]
>
> Robertson was Manager, Power Generation, of the SEC's Latrobe Valley operations when he retired in 1980 after 32 years of service.

Though choosing a site for the development of the new college was the main task of the Joint Committee, it received a report from the VIC's Research and Statistics Officer, Mr E. Aide, regarding the more general issue of educational needs in Eastern Victoria. The report was not optimistic about the rapid development of tertiary education in Gippsland. The report found that 85 per cent of diploma students in the College came from the Latrobe Valley, and that over the years (1964–68) there had been a gradual decline in the number of students coming to the College from elsewhere in Gippsland. It also found that an extremely low percentage of local matriculation students were attracted to the College—only approximately 10 per cent of new diploma students enrolling at YTC had achieved matriculation standard. Though YTC had traditionally recruited the majority of its students from Form V, the need to enrol more matriculants was to have a crucial influence on GIAE's early development strategies. While in 1968 there were 342 diploma students (172 full-time and 170 part-time) enrolled at YTC, there was only one female student.

The initial feeling of caution and reserve of those who helped to found GIAE was soon to be displaced by an attitude of optimism for growth and development. In 1969 the VIC requested educational specifications, and in March of that year the Council asked the staff, through the agency of the staff association, to draft the specifications. The final document was presented in April 1970, and it stated that, with the introduction of new courses, it was not unreasonable to plan for 1000 equivalent full-time students by 1982. The Educational Specifications also stated that the Institute would need to establish student housing and sporting facilities, as well as investigate how to broaden its courses intellectually (GIAE, 1970). Besides expansion in the technological fields, some of the new courses foreshadowed were teacher education, visual arts, and general studies.

Law and the VIC saw a regional commitment for the new college, but large-scale development of higher education was not envisaged for Gippsland.[7] Initially, the VIC was against any widening of courses at GIAE which would lead it away from the technical area; the emphasis on science and engineering was to be maintained. Speaking later, the Director said that Law was adamant that the rat-bag elements of higher education (i.e. arts students at the universities) should not be reproduced at the CAEs.[8] However, the new college was to develop far wider parameters than those which the VIC would have set. Paradoxically, many of the new developments at the college would be in direct response to the financial structure created by the VIC.

One of the first tasks of the new Council was to appoint a Director. While Council wished to establish a tertiary institution with the ability to serve the whole of Gippsland, it did not know how to go about creating such an organization. Naturally, the selection committee would put the question regarding the regional responsibility of the Institute to prospective candidates interviewed for the directorship.

One man interviewed, Mr M. W. Hopper, seemed to have the appropriate answer. Hopper told the selection committee that, in order to service a region as large and diverse as Gippsland, the

Institute would need to be involved in external studies.[9] At the time of application, Hopper was Assistant Director of the Department of External Studies at the University of New England. He was offered the Director/Principalship and assumed duties in mid-1970.

> In an interview, Hopper was asked why he was interested in the position:
> From 1960 I was second in charge of the External Studies Department at the University of New England. I was overseas from 1966 to 1968 and returned to New England with the expectation that I would inherit the Department. The Director was pulling back and becoming involved in outside interests. I was virtually running the Department and realised that it wasn't what I wanted to do for the rest of my life.
> Also, I had certain ideas on the role of external studies. In the 1950s and 1960s, external studies didn't have a great deal of status. External students were outside the mainstream of university education. The universities were mainly oriented to teaching young, bright full-time students. The external studies programme at New England was concerned mainly with vocational education; 90 per cent of our students were teachers. I was interested in an institution which could be unashamedly concerned with vocational education. I was interested in administration—I am not an academic—and in the challenge of a new job.[10]

When Hopper arrived at GIAE in 1970 to take up duties as Director, he found that the job was going to be challenging indeed. Student enrolments were small and declining, and the college was not attracting matriculants from the region's high schools. As well, he inherited both the staff and the course structure of the tertiary section of the Education Department's technical college. This meant that Hopper could not make the changes in the areas of applied science and engineering which he may have wished to initiate. He would have to look to other areas where new courses could be mounted. Hopper began duty with some feeling of unease, but through talks with Law he received a better idea of the VIC's structure and an assurance that GIAE was a 'goer'.[11]

As Director, the main question Hopper faced in the beginning was how to get the college moving. Robertson wanted to build a new institution, but had not articulated how it was going to be different from YTC. Hopper believed that, in order to do something different, the Institute had to disassociate its image from that of the technical college. He commented on the problem:

> You must understand the elitist, dual nature of education in Victoria. The technical system and the high schools served different functions; with the high schools as the elitist stream serving the universities. There were 6 or 7 technical schools which fed students into Yallourn. I realized that we had to break into the high school market if we were going to make it. And

> to do this, we had to change our image and be seen as a truly tertiary institution.
> Yallourn Tech was seen as a place for the training of tradesmen. The Gippsland Institute had to be established as an attractive alternative for local students who would otherwise undertake tertiary education in Melbourne.[12]

Some of the nature and character of the YTC tertiary section for which Hopper assumed responsibility is reflected by the earlier statements regarding student regulations. In 1970 the General Regulation in the Handbook (YTC, 1970, pp.8–9) stated:

> Students are expected to attend all classes and practical sessions set for each of their subjects . . . Students are required to be punctual in arrival at all classes . . . Students shall—(a) be clean and neat with respect to person and dress; (b) be polite and orderly in behaviour . . . Smoking is strictly prohibited in classrooms, laboratories, workshops, corridors and libraries . . . Gambling is not permitted on the College premises.

Staff at the time took such regulations seriously. In October 1969, a letter from the Board of Studies to the President of the then Students Representative Council listed a number of complaints regarding the behaviour of students:

> Some recent instances of improper behaviour discussed were:
>
> (a) the untidy state of rooms . . . following their use by students at lunch time,
> (b) the excessive noise, including the shouting of profanities, emanating from the . . . rooms during the lunch period,
> (c) the displacement of the steps leading to the portable classrooms . . .,
> (d) the dropping of litter in the car park . . .,
> (e) the playing of football on gardens adjacent to classrooms . . .,
> (f) the recent indecorous behaviour in the car park following the return of a number of students from the hotel.[13]

The letter was signed by nine members of staff (all heads of departments), including the current GIAE Deputy-Principal, Dean of Engineering and Applied Science, Head of the School of Engineering, and a Senior Lecturer in Applied Science.

In March 1969 the Council debated procedures such as style of dress, grooming, regularity of attendance of students, and observation of set class times by teachers. While there was diversity of opinion as to whether any restrictions should be imposed, Council resolved by majority vote 'that the college administration should attempt to maintain, as formerly, the standards of attire, behaviour and attendance.'[14]

By 1980, class attendance was no longer compulsory (except for specialized areas, such as a set number of hours to be spent in laboratory work), both students and staff dressed in a variety of styles (not all of which could be described as 'clean and neat'), some staff and students drank together at the local hotel and otherwise had close social relationships, and most tutorial rooms were clouded with

Plate 4 Drama Rehearsal in the Video Studio at the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education

the blue haze of cigarette smoke. This may not indicate progress, but it certainly typifies change.

With regard to changing attitudes in these early years, Hopper (1979) tells the following anecdote:

> When I arrived in 1970 the Sweeney Report had been released, and the Victorian Government had just announced its acceptance of parity of salaries with those in universities.
> When he met me at the airport, the president of our council told me this had just been announced. VICSAC (the staff associations council for college academic staff) maintained that they would not forgo their eleven weeks recreation leave until they got parity. This was the attitude that existed at that time. The president of the council told me that staff should be told that they were not to have eleven weeks leave in future, but I took the view that a head-on approach should be avoided. As it turned out no such announcement was necessary. There had been a stage when staff were paid tea money when they had to come back to take late classes. This was a practice of the technical school system. These situations existed in the early stages of the CAEs, but they do not exist now. At Gippsland, staff never sought tea money.
> One of the staff said recently that the key to it all was that at a very early meeting I told them they were not to feel embarrassed if I walked past their house and saw them mowing their lawn at three o'clock in the afternoon, provided that they refrained from ringing me to say they were working at home at three o'clock in the morning. (p.56)

A change in attitude and emphasis was occurring in all of the Victorian colleges as they moved from being under the control of the technical school system to becoming autonomous CAEs in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The philosophy of 'equal but different' prevailed, and the 'liberal' nature of the university community was, to an extent, being reproduced in the colleges. Staff in the colleges sought parity with university staff with regard to the terms and conditions of employment, and many people with employment experience in the universities came to work for the colleges. Soon, the CAEs would be accused of upward academic drift, and of forsaking lower level vocational and applied courses in favour of more general and esoteric courses at university level. But in the beginning, at least at GIAE, the emphasis was upon the transformation, not on its possible consequences.

In 1970 Hopper was not concerned about academic drift; rather, he was pre-occupied with raising the academic standards of the Institute. He was more concerned about standards than any overall mission for the organization. In addition, the financial structure under which the college had to function contributed to the problems faced by the Director. The Institute had to run the diploma courses inherited from YTC, and was funded primarily for its 200 odd EFT students, mostly in the technologies. In terms of recurrent funds, the VIC provided money in relation to existing student enrolments and for new initiatives. Thus, to receive a high financial grant, the Institute needed to mount new courses, which would have to be in the non-technological areas—social science, visual arts, humanities, and education—and attract more students. Also, Hopper was anxious to attract new recruits of high academic quality and standard.

> I accepted Law's philosophy of 'equal but different' and had little confidence in the existing staff when I arrived—though I have changed my mind on this over the years. But then, I saw a need for a transformation, and to employ staff with higher degrees. I believed this had to be done if we were going to get into degree work.[15]

To attract local matriculants from the high schools, it was believed that the Institute needed to develop degree courses which were of equal academic standard to those offered in the universities. Hopper (1979, p.57) wrote:

> We had to play the status game. We had to talk about 'equal but different' and stress the equality and not the difference. This carried a risk that staff might start to believe our own propaganda! Some of them did, but the strategy was necessary to gain the confidence of our community. We could not have achieved the sort of community support that we have if we had acted differently. (p.57)

However, it needs to be recognized that, in transforming GIAE into a cosmopolitan, fully fledged tertiary institution, certain opportunities were lost or given away. For example, the 1981 TEC Report called for the development of bridging courses for students who wished to study in the technologies but lacked the qualifications and secondary courses to do so. Before the Institute transferred to its Churchill campus, it taught a preliminary year at sixth form level which served this general purpose. In the Institute's separation from the subtertiary section, the preliminary year was discontinued in 1972. Some members of the Institute in recent years have been interested in certificate and other lower-level courses in the field of further education, but now such courses are the responsibility of those who teach in the TAFE area at YTC.

The problems encountered by GIAE in its search for academic identity are in no way unique. Treyvaud and McLaren (1976), writing about the CAE sector in general, stated:

> As the funds were provided for tertiary-level courses only, many colleges quickly commenced divorce proceedings to shed their sub-tertiary bedfellows. Such proceedings were given impetus by the college's search for tertiary status. Technical education was seen as inferior to tertiary education and the financial provisions emanating from the Martin report emphasized this inferiority . . . Figures quoted in commission reports, and assessments made on such figures, were based solely on tertiary enrolments and not upon the total educational offering of the institutions.
>
> As a result there was a lack of breadth and variety in the courses offered by colleges of advanced education. (p.51)

Eric Robinson (1970), as an overseas observer with experience of the British polytechnics, warned the colleges more than a decade ago that it would be a mistake for them to make firm distinctions between the tertiary and the sub-tertiary in both the design of courses and in the selection of students. He believed to do so would lead to the development of separate and competing monolithic bureaucratic structures which would serve neither the interests of students nor those of the community. It goes without saying that his fears have been justified. By 1980 the role and future of the advanced education sector in Australia had been thrown into doubt. Over the last 15 years the colleges have shed many of their responsibilities in the sub-diploma field and moved into degree and postgraduate studies. This has brought many of the colleges into direct competition with the universities. TAFE has developed to fill the educational vacuum at the lower levels left by the colleges as they drifted towards higher academic standards and programs. Now there is much competition and little co-ordination between the TAFE and advanced education sectors (with regard to which institution will offer what courses). Many students of Australian education are asking whether the CAEs can play a continuing and useful role in the society.

It has already been stated that the advanced education sector at best had a mixed function. There has always been a great deal of rhetoric about vocationalism, and practical and applied courses, but there has been some difficulty in achieving these ends. When a philosophy of equal but different was applied to a group of institutions with an inferior status in relation to the universities, those institutions, naturally enough, strove to be first-class citizens. The development of GIAE is not indicative of an institution either conforming to or drifting away from any concrete philosophy of advanced education. Rather, it is a product of the process of institutional building in the context of a changing and often contradictory social, educational, and economic environment.

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AN INSTITUTION IN TRANSITION: INTENDED AND UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF DEVELOPMENT

The driving force behind the development and expansion of Gippsland Institute did not come from the exogenous environment; it came from within the Institute itself—from the efforts of members of staff, Council, and the Director. Clearly, their efforts would have been unsuccessful if it had not been for the acceptance of their academic initiatives in the wider community. But the funding and coordinating authorities were not pushing the Institute to mount new and novel programs. Though the VIC did not actively hinder development, it was thought to be content with a college which confined its operations to the diploma courses inherited from YTC. Large-scale development of higher education facilities in Gippsland was not a VIC priority. Rather, members of the Institute had to campaign actively for what they felt was their fair share of the Victorian educational pie. In the process, growth was achieved, but at the same time opportunities were lost and conflict was generated on several levels.

With regard to the development of GIAE as a new institution with its own distinct character, two events stand out in the organization's history: the establishment of teacher education facilities; and the creation of BA degree courses. The programs were founded both to cater for potential student demand and to resolve the Institute's dilemma in relation to VIC funding arrangements. Their inception coupled with members' abilities to teach them externally ensured GIAE's survival and expansion. Each of these academic adventures have had unintended consequences in terms of the organization's structure, function, and character.

The establishment of a school of teacher education helped the Institute to overcome a severe financial crisis and, in part, its foundation arose from a successful confrontation between GIAE members (particularly the Director and key members of Council) and various state and federal political and bureaucratic policy makers. Through their conflict with this segment of the exogenous environment, the Institute learnt that local citizens and politicians were prepared to lend their support to the development of the organization. But members also learned that they would need to rely on political expediency and public pressure in order to protect and advance the Institute. Their initial experiences with conflicting external forces would become crystallized into a pattern of decision making which would later have dysfunctional consequences for internal cohesion. The following description of the inception and operation of teacher education typifies the complex and often indefinite nature of the advanced education sector, and how external factors impinge upon internal activities.

The Case of Teacher Education

Since the 1920s, the people of Gippsland have petitioned the Minister of Education for the establishment of teacher education facilities in the region (Hopper, 1979, p.57). The attainment of this goal only became a real possibility with the creation of the CAE sector and the establishment of Gippsland Institute. The past history of teacher education in Victoria is one where nearly all primary teachers and a proportion of secondary teachers were trained in single-purpose teachers colleges, under the control of the Education Department. For many years, educationalists had been critical of the situation where the same government authority both trained and selected its own employees. Though in 1965 the Federal Government rejected the Martin Committee proposal for separating teachers colleges from the education departments, the campaign for their autonomy continued.

The Second Report of the CACAE (1969) recommended that teacher education be established in the autonomous, multipurpose colleges of advanced education. The Committee viewed this as one possible avenue for attracting more students into the CAEs:

> At present most secondary school teachers are university-orientated by the nature of their educational background and this tends to influence secondary school students. Teachers with a background in the colleges would understand fully their objectives and would be able to present them to school leavers as an alternative path to professional qualifications. (p.5)

Some colleges were allowed to include teacher education, but this change in federal policy was limited to specific cases and was not intended to alter the fundamental policy of keeping teachers colleges outside the advanced education funding system.

In 1971 the *Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Education in South Australia* recommended:

> No further single-purpose should be developed for the education of teachers, and any necessary expansion of facilities should take place in an institution established as a multi-purpose institution. (Karmel, 1971, p.449)

In Victoria, by way of contrast, the Committee which was created in 1970 to consider the establishment of a fourth university was asked to investigate 'the extent to which a new university might provide for teacher education in the State' (Victorian Fourth University Committee, 1972, p.1).

In September 1970 the Latrobe Valley Development Committee, with the support of the Minister for State Development and the Minister of Fuel and Power, approached the Minister of Education with regard to the establishment of teacher education facilities at GIAE. The Minister, however, referred the proposal to the Fourth University Committee. It would be other events of an extraordinary nature which would lead to the establishment of a school of education within Gippsland Institute.

The Catch 22 Funding Formula

As previously mentioned, the Institute was placed in a double bind from the outset. It was, supposedly, to develop a structure and character different from that of YTC, while at the same time teaching the diploma courses inherited from the technical college. Later, the Institute had to compete for students in an expanding course market at a time when its diploma courses were in competition with new degree courses in the metropolitan colleges. For the 1970–1972 triennium, GIAE received only enough money from its establishment grant to buy land at Churchill, construct its first buildings, run its inherited diploma courses, and make a few senior appointments. To obtain additional funds, it was necessary for the Institute to mount new courses which would attract more students. The College did receive limited new-course funds from the VIC to begin diplomas in general studies and in art and design. Because it was funded primarily for actual student enrolments, the Institute Council felt there was little room to manoeuvre. In May 1972, speaking to the funding arrangements for the 1973–75 triennium, the President of Council articulated the Institute's dilemma:

> From recurrent funds we simply want something over our present commitments to allow for growth in the next triennium. Committees of the V.I.C. have told us that we cannot contemplate the introduction of degree courses which will ensure our growth unless we appoint more staff and increase our library resources. At the same time the V.I.C. calculates our

> recurrent fund needs on the drawing power of our present diplomas in which enrolments are declining. There is no way of breaking out of this vicious circle other than by having the funds to re-develop our courses and plan new ones.[1]

The VIC supported the Institute's claim of approximately seven million dollars for capital development and 5.175 million for recurrent expenditure for the 1973–75 triennium. In December 1971 the VIC presented the colleges' financial estimates for the triennium to the state and federal authorities. For all the colleges combined, the VIC requested 111.192 million dollars in capital funds and 146.859 million in recurrent funds. However, in May 1972 the VIC was informed that the total grant would be reduced to 51.0 million dollars in capital expenditure and 95.0 million in recurrent funds. The VIC had to start the painful process of reallocating funds to each college.

The VIC proposed that GIAE receive only 18 per cent (1.295 million dollars) of its original capital fund request and 53 per cent (2.752 million dollars) of its recurrent fund request. In relation to the other colleges, GIAE was hard hit in terms of capital fund cuts. However, with the partial completion of buildings at Churchill, the VIC believed that the Institute was in a better position relative to other colleges—even though this meant GIAE would have to be a two-campus operation for a number of years.[2] Predictably, the GIAE Council reacted bitterly to the funding cuts. The minutes of Council's special meeting held in May 1972 stated:

> Council resolved unanimously that a letter of protest over the proposed funding should be sent to the VIC and that it should include mention of staff cases where it could be said that they and the Institute have been 'sold out' by the VIC, that newly arrived staff must feel concerned at their future if the VIC funding proposals are not considerably increased for the G.I.A.E.[3]

The sense of outrage was further expressed in the letter that was subsequently sent to the VIC by the President of Council:

> If our development in the next triennium is limited as proposed by the VIC, we could not pretend to the people of Gippsland that this institution can meet their needs . . . They would be convinced that their energies would be far better employed in agitating for a branch of the fourth university than in continuing their support for the development of the Gippsland Institute.[4]

In his letter, Robertson said that, in the light of the funding cuts, the Institute was willing to delete its plans to construct a 2.7 million dollar engineering building and to reduce other projects substantially. He stressed that the Institute would still require 3.3 million dollars in capital funds.

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Robertson met with the executive of the VIC. They had some sympathy for the Institute's position, and a figure of 1.66 million dollars for capital works was mentioned. Robertson felt that this figure was not 'good enough'.[5] He conferred with the Director over the new VIC offer and informed him that the Institute was going to fight. At the time Hopper felt that the Institute did not really have a chance but followed Robertson's lead. Hopper commented:

> I underestimated the general feeling of resentment for underdevelopment which exists in the Gippsland region. It is the most underdeveloped region in Victoria. I wrote a press release entitled 'Insult to Gippsland'. This was a stroke of genius.[6]

The campaign against this insult to Gippsland had an immediate impact. The State Minister of Education and Deputy Premier, the Honourable Lindsay Thompson, was flooded with letters from local residents. The Institute successfully solicited support from Gippsland politicians, including the Honourable P.J. Nixon, then a member of GIAE Council and Federal Minister for Shipping and Transport, and J.C.M. Balfour, State MLA, and Minister for Fuel and Power. The various municipal councils came together in support of the Institute, and the local press ran articles favourable to the Institute. A group of representatives from local municipal councils approached the Federal Minister for Education, then the Honourable Malcolm Fraser. Hopper, in reminiscing over the events of the period, (1979) wrote:

> The [State] Minister, Mr Thompson, had a great many letters. The local TV station featured the issue and told viewers to post their letters to the station by next Friday and they would have them on the Minister's desk on the following Monday! The local municipal authorities said they had never been able to get all of the Gippsland councils together for anything and even if they managed to get some of them together they would be unable to agree on anything. Some twenty-four out of the twenty-six local government bodies in Gippsland unanimously backed the Gippsland Institute. (p.57)

A great deal of pressure was placed on the State Minister of Education and he had to do something to pacify the people of Gippsland. But the VIC was a statutory authority and the Minister could not directly dictate its decisions.

In June 1972 the GIAE Council requested a joint meeting between themselves and members of the Council of the VIC to discuss the future of the Institute. The VIC agreed to the meeting and a delegation from their Council—including Philip Law, Sir Willis Connolly, President of Council, and Mr R. Parry, Registrar—travelled to Churchill.

The students organized a demonstration for the arrival of the VIC representatives. Law was jostled, and arrived in the Council room very agitated.[7] The mood of the meeting was tense. The GIAE Council members talked at length with the VIC, pushing their case for additional funds.[8] During a break in the meeting with Council, the Institute's staff association met with the VIC representatives and continued the argument. The academic staff association—then dominated by ex-Yallourn staff—worked 'hand in glove' with the Council over the funding issue.[9]

After talking with the staff association, the VIC members resumed their meeting with GIAE Council members. During the break, however, Hopper commented to Robertson that he believed they had hammered the VIC enough on the funding issue. The VIC was not going to relent and it was time for the Institute to change its tactics. Hopper put it to the delegation that the Institute 'cannot get more money without getting more students, and we cannot get more students without future course developments'.[10] One new course development which the Director had in mind in particular was teacher education.

Under its Act the VIC had control over course developments in all of the affiliated colleges, and without at least its tacit support new initiatives at GIAE would have been impossible. Several GIAE leaders believed that the public campaign, the political pressure placed on the Minister of Education, and the joint meeting convinced the VIC that it had to support the development and expansion of GIAE more actively. At that time, there were clear advantages to the VIC with regard to the development of a GIAE school of education. It would allow the VIC and the Minister to resolve the Institute's funding dilemma, while not forcing the VIC to re-calculate the financial distributions to the various colleges. The Minister could command funds for teacher education outside of the VIC grant.

Following the meeting with the VIC, the Institute approached the Minister of Education about teacher education facilities at GIAE. Robertson, Hopper, and Balfour met with Thompson in August. Balfour pointed out to the Minister that the people of Gippsland were demanding that teacher education facilities be made available in the region, and he argued that such facilities should be provided as soon as possible. The President reported back to Council that 'the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education had every reason to be hopeful about obtaining a school of teacher education in the foreseeable future'.[11]

The Director prepared a submission on the establishment of teacher education facilities.[12] In it he argued that the Institute could plan the introduction of a primary teacher education program for an annual intake of 200 students in the initial years. It was stated that more than 1000 students per year in Gippsland would be seeking places in tertiary education by the late 1970s, and that 575 Gippsland students were currently (1972) undertaking studies elsewhere in the State on secondary and technical studentships. The submission requested capital funds for the establishment of an education building, a science building, student residences, and other facilities. In placing the submission before Council, the Director stated that 'our future depends entirely on getting teacher education'.[13]

The efforts of members of the Institute were soon to be rewarded. In a press release dated 3 April 1973, the Minister of Education, announced that a school of education would be established in 1975 at the Gippsland Institute. Thompson described the establishment of the School as 'a very significant extension of decentralized tertiary education in Victoria', and also said that the establishment of teacher education facilities at GIAE had been under consideration for some time. 'It had been carefully planned over the past two years in consultation with the Council of Gippsland Institute, the Victoria Institute of Colleges and senior officers of the Education Department.'[14]

In mid-1973 the State and Commonwealth Governments, on the advice of the Commission on Advanced Education, provided the Institute with a substantial capital grant for the establishment of teacher education facilities. The Institute was able to use the grant to erect a variety of buildings, not just buildings directly associated with teacher education. Dr J. Lawry was appointed Foundation Dean of Education in December 1973. Also in 1973, the VIC applied to the Commission for the supplementary recurrent funds necessary to enable the course to begin in 1975.

The establishment of the School was a major step forward in helping to break down the barriers to development created by the catch-22 funding formula. However, the decision by the State and Federal Governments to establish teacher education at GIAE did not conclude the conflict between the Institute and external bureaucracies.

The SCV/VIC Conflict

Throughout 1972 and the first half of 1973, moves were under way at both state and federal levels to give more autonomy to the monopurpose teachers colleges. The Commission on Advanced Education appointed the Special Committee on Teacher Education. The Senate's Standing Committee on Education, Science and the Arts recommended in 1972 that arrangements for recurrent and capital funds for teachers colleges should be the same as for universities and CAEs. The Commission's Special Committee made detailed recommendations for this purpose, and from 1 July 1973 the state teachers colleges became, for funding purposes, colleges of advanced education. In Victoria, the State College of Victoria (SCV) was created under its own Act in late 1972 to oversee and co-ordinate the former education department teachers colleges which, after July 1973, became constituent colleges of the State College of Victoria. It is interesting to note that the SCV Act allowed for the former education department colleges to enrol non-education students.

The creation of the SCV produced a bureaucratic structure parallel to, and in competition with, the VIC.[15] A federal decision not to fund state co-ordinating authorities, the competition between the two bodies, and recommendations by the Partridge Committee for reform eventually contributed to the demise of both authorities.[16] However, in the 1973–75 triennium, the question was, which authority would GIAE be responsible to? Thompson argued in the April 1973 press release that, since teacher education in the State was being developed in colleges of the SCV, GIAE would seek accreditation of its teacher education courses through that body. That arrangement, according to Thompson, would allow GIAE to continue to develop its range of other courses under the VIC, while ensuring the comparability of its teacher education courses with those of the SCV. There is evidence to suggest that the Education Department and the SCV wanted more than this from the Institute.

The VIC was in a stronger position than the SCV. It had had several years of experience as a co-ordinating authority, and the VIC affiliated colleges were more numerous and better developed. The SCV needed to build up its affiliated colleges and establish itself as a viable sector relative to the VIC.

Members of the Institute found themselves caught between the two bureaucracies, with their dilemma being further complicated by the move to establish a fourth university in Victoria. In July 1973 the Victorian Government submitted to the AUC a detailed proposal for a new university to be established on a regional basis with a campus in each of the cities of Geelong, Ballarat, and Bendigo. In August

1973 the Federal Minister for Education asked the AUC to examine the submission, and a report was submitted in time for its consideration in early 1974 (AUC, 1974). By this stage the Federal Government had assumed full funding responsibility for higher education within Australia. In February 1974 the Prime Minister, the Honourable Gough Whitlam, announced that he had advised the Victorian Premier that the fourth university (to be named Deakin University) would be located at Geelong, and would absorb both the VIC and SCV colleges in Geelong. The VIC and SCV colleges in Ballarat and Bendigo would be merged to form major colleges of advanced education. GIAE was one of the first country colleges in Victoria to receive teacher education facilities, and it seems that the GIAE precedent influenced the decision to merge the colleges at Bendigo and Ballarat.

The placement of the Deakin University at Geelong meant that the SCV lost one of its colleges by *fait accompli*. But the more pressing question was with which co-ordinating body were the new amalgamated colleges at Bendigo and Ballarat to be affiliated. A ten-man committee was established to advise the Victorian Minister of Education on the affiliation of the amalgamated colleges. Five members of the committee were associate members of the SCV Senate while the other five members were associated with the VIC sector. Predictably, the committee could not reach any clear-cut decision. In September 1974 the government appointed an independent committee of inquiry to investigate 'the most appropriate co-ordinating authority for the merged colleges in Bendigo and Ballarat and for the colleges of advanced education in Gippsland and Warrnambool'.[17] The membership of the committee was Professor A.S. Buchanan (then Deputy Chairman, Tertiary Education Advisory Committee), Dr J.A.L. Matheson (then Vice-Chancellor, Monash University) and Mr F.H. Brooks (former Director General of Education, Victorian Education Department).

Members of the Institute feared that they might become part of a trade-off in relation to the amalgamated colleges at Bendigo and Ballarat. At the April 1974 Council meeting the Director reported that he had been advised informally that discussions concerning the affiliation of the GIAE were proceeding between the VIC and the SCV. 'Council viewed this report with serious concern.' In a letter from the President of Council to the Minister for Fuel and Power, the fears of Gippsland Institute were elaborated upon in some detail:

> We understand that discussions have been held between the VIC, the State College and the Chairman of the Commission on Advanced Educa-

> tion about the future affiliation of the Institute. We understand that this matter has arisen because the question of the future affiliation of the Ballarat Institute of Advanced Education and the Bendigo Institute of Technology is under consideration because these two Institutes are to amalgamate with teachers colleges in the two cities. Apparently in the discussion, the future affiliation of the Gippsland Institute and the Warrnambool Institute has arisen in a way which suggests 'horse trading' between the two co-ordinating bodies without regard to the interests of the institutions or the communities they serve.[18]

Buchanan, Matheson and Brooks visited the Institute and met with the Council on 27 September 1974. The Council put its case for remaining with the VIC in strong terms. The Council also had the full support of the GIAE staff association and the Student Union over the issue. The Executive of the GIAE Union wrote to the Council:

> It is our belief that the GIAE would gain nothing by coming under the State College organization. We object to being treated as a bartering item between two state government bodies.[19]

Council stressed its commitment to the teaching of the technologies, and the fact that teacher education would be a minor part of its overall academic program. At the meeting, the President of Council stated:

> I stress the fact that from the beginning this establishment was closely environmently orientated in that the Yallourn Technical College offered courses that trained engineers for the largest local secondary industry, the S.E.C., found in its catchment area. The present college is no different in that it still mirrors the requirements of its environment and no doubt can boast of having established extremely cordial and functional relationships with industry, commerce, the teaching profession and other professional groups . . .
> An analysis of the projected percentage enrolments . . . indicates that the teacher education involvement is of the order of 25% of the Institute's total commitment and not, in itself, grounds for transferring the Institute's affiliation.[20]

It is interesting to note that, while the Institute was basing its growth and development on teacher education and other non-technological courses, the historical function of YTC was brought into the debate as a justification for not changing the Institute's affiliation. Because of the external threat which the affiliation issue presented, Institute leaders were willing to play down the importance of teacher education. During this same period, the Institute was under threat from the Commission on Advanced Education with regard to the offering of liberal arts type courses. In the argument with this body, Institute members advanced the view that teacher education was of primary importance to the organization, and that social science and humanities courses had been developed to meet the requirements of the teaching profession. While it is not surprising that Institute leaders have had to shift their argument in relation to the nature of the environmental pressure, the continual necessity to re-define fundamental aims and goals has eventually led to an institution unsure of its basic purpose and character. By 1980, members of GIAE were confused over whether they would be working in a community college, a narrow technological institution specializing in the teaching of engineering, or a multipurpose liberal arts college.

The new President of Council, Mr Charles Ford, was active in speaking on the Institute's behalf. Robertson had stood down as President in December 1973, and one of the reasons for not continuing for another term as President and for the election of Ford to the position was the Institute's acquisition of teacher education. It was believed that, since growth and development at the Institute was going to be in the non-technological areas, it was not appropriate for a man with an engineering background to head the Council.[21] Ford was a local solicitor, and was President of Council until December 1980.

The Committee of Enquiry, reporting to the Minister of Education in November 1974, was unanimous in its opinion that the merged colleges in Bendigo and Ballarat should be assigned to the VIC, with the VIC acting as the co-ordinating authority. It concluded that the Institutes of Advanced Education in Gippsland and Warrnambool should remain without change under the co-ordinating authority of the VIC. The Committee commented on the sectoral rivalry between the two co-ordinating authorities:

> There was a strong feeling in many quarters that the VIC and the SCV should ultimately be merged. It seems clear that, to an increasing extent, the colleges are likely to develop non-technological courses with substantial overlap; problems of duplication of facilities are likely to become acute particularly when the SCV colleges begin enrolling students outside of the teacher education stream. From the point of view of economy of operation the Committee feels that the merger should be implemented while the systems remain largely complementary rather than competitive in character.

These were prophetic words, but it would take another committee of enquiry and a lapse of four years before they were acted upon.

Teacher education facilities at GIAE were just being implemented when the whole question of rationalization of higher education and the over-supply of teachers emerged as a major problem for the

Australian community. None the less, the School of Education was able to grow and prosper in its early years of establishment. It reached a peak of 548 EFT student enrolments in 1979 and was by far the largest school in the Institute. The School instituted programs in the Diploma of Teaching, Graduate Diploma in Education, Bachelor of Education and the Associate Diploma in School Librarianship. The School's external studies programme has been particularly popular, with teachers from the region upgrading their qualifications. However, the conclusion of the issue over amalgamation still did not end the School's conflict with state bureaucracies.[22]

Internal Consequences

GIAE's acquisition of teacher education was essential for the Institute's growth and expansion. But it was a development which occurred out of adversity and political conflict. With the appointment of the Dean of Education and other senior staff in the School, extensive philosophical and pedagogical thought and effort went into planning the courses. In fact, it is the only school within the Institute which had the time to appoint senior staff and plan courses before teaching began. However, the events which surround the creation of teacher education facilities at GIAE have had a lasting effect and various unintended consequences on the structure and character of the institution, the most significant being the emphasis which Institute members have learnt to place on the 'political game'.

Because the decisions to establish teacher education at GIAE and to maintain its affiliation with the VIC were mainly political ones—fought out in the political arena—decision making within the Institute became unduly concentrated at the executive and council level. The Director and President of Council were the main actors in the fight over funding cuts and the subsequent acquisition of teacher education. The Director depended on the support of members of Council more than the support of members of the Academic Board. Over these issues both the academic staff association and the students were in full support of the actions of the Director and Council. The interests of academic staff were articulated mainly through the staff association, not through formal boards and committees. This weakened formal academic decision making within the organization, which became a matter of critical importance for the future. It may be that the weakening was directly associated with the perception of leaders that the Academic Board and like bodies could not be relied upon for quick and clear support in a fight.

The staff association is not part of the formal structure of decision making. Particularly in the early years, the academic imput on various issues has been through this body. This arrangement did not disturb internal cohesion as long as the staff association and the Director and Council were in agreement over the issues of the day. Once disagreement occurred, as happened in later years, there existed no structural arrangements for the resolution of the conflict.

In the early years of development, the staff association was dominated by the old guard from YTC. Though they were the technocrats, members fully recognized that it was in their interests to support the overall advancement of the Institute. The decision to establish teacher education, and the students and funds which it attracted, ensured the survival of engineering and applied science.

If it was to grow and expand, the Institute had little choice but to play the political game whose rules were set by external forces. It had to transcend the funding formula set down by the VIC, and compete with a multipilicity of institutions for both funds and students. The environment in which it had to participate extended to Melbourne and Canberra—it was forced to interact with a bureaucratic milieu outside its control. The record shows that the Institute has been successful, to a degree, in manipulating this environment. No doubt political leaders, in a variety of circumstances, feel they have to be chameleon-like, changing their colours depending on the political rhetoric in vogue at a particular time. In colleges as much as in universities, an internal structure which furthers academic integrity and allows for rational and professional decision making has to be maintained, not only as an effective counter-weight to the political process, but to secure an environment beneficial to staff and students.

From the literature, one would expect that the Institute's victory over the funding cuts and teacher education would help to bind the organization together—that these events would become incorporated as part of the organization's myths and symbols, providing members with an emotional commitment to the enterprise. Clark (1970; 1975; 1980) has written extensively on the importance of ideology, academic culture and symbolic belief systems in academic organizations. 'All social entities have a symbolic side, a culture as well as a social structure' (Clark, 1980, p.1). In academic institutions the normative aspects of the organization are even more important than in some other organizations, such as the more instrumental and utilitarian orientated enterprises of business and industry.

One particular aspect of academic culture in which Clark (1980) is interested is that of the 'organizational saga':

> A collective understanding of current institutional character that refers to the historical struggle of the group and is embellished and romanticized and loaded with meaning to the point where the organization becomes very much an end-in-itself. (p.9)

The fight over funds and teacher education has all the ingredients from which sagas are made. The exploits of members were, to a degree, 'heroic' and carried some risk, and they resulted in unique development. The people of Gippsland had campaigned for teacher education facilities for over 50 years, but only one segment of the college community has embellished the story with warmth and sentiment through constant retelling—the administration and Council. For the institution as a whole, these victories do not serve a symbolic function of unity and cohesion. The structure of the institution, the lack of effective avenues for formal participation in the decision-making process, and the need to concentrate decision making at the executive level have disallowed organizational members from developing any unified and shared symbolic commitment to the Institute as a whole—except the one of self-preservation. Clark notes that the notion of saga 'can be treated as a matter of degree, ranging along a continuum from zero to one hundred'. At GIAE, however, a different situation has occurred. Over time, institutional members have developed two opposing sets of symbolic beliefs with regard to the organization's development and meaning—what we might term a saga and a counter-saga.

Top echelon members of the administration and key members of Council have developed a degree of sentiment and symbolic attachment with regard to past achievements, political exploits, growth, and so on. New members, particularly those belonging to Council, are introduced to these particular sets of beliefs and symbols. The academic staff, on the other hand, has also developed a set of stories about heroic exploits, based on historical events, and embellished through retelling. But many of the historical events on which their set of symbolic attachments are based, turn on instances of severe and intense internal conflict. New members of staff, with surprising rapidity, are introduced to, and accept, the counter-saga. The following section will trace the historical roots to the present schism.

Structure, Internal Conflict and the BA Degree

In Victoria, the VIC ensured that uniformity of academic standards would be maintained among the constituent colleges, although the VIC did not dictate a standard pattern of academic organization and decision making which was to be followed by all of the colleges.

Rather, it was left to each college to formulate its own bureaucratic and academic structure. The colleges lacked a standard blueprint and a traditional style of decision making—except for that inherited from the technical school system.

The potential for difficulty may be, in part, a result of competing paradigms of organization: the university model based on academic freedom and the primacy of professional decision making; and a more hierarchical model drawn from the world of business and industry, where the emphasis is on executive government, a board of directors, and the managing director. Treyvaud and McLaren (1976) comment:

> Although in practice . . . [college] councils may seem to discharge much the same functions as those of university councils and senates, two important distinctions must be made. Firstly, the enabling acts make no provision for distinct academic authority of the kind exercised by university faculties, professorial boards and convocations. Secondly, the councils themselves do not usually have many members with personal experience of the traditions of academic autonomy which have prevailed in universities. Rather, they are dominated by businessmen and public servants with pragmatic traditions of efficiency and deference. The outlook of these practical men may prevent the growth of some of the more arcane university practices but it provides little security against improper political or public interference with academic teaching and publishing . . .
> These possibilities are likely to increase as the staffs of the colleges grow more confident in themselves and less narrowly concerned with training of useful and docile employees. (pp.27–8)

Though possibly their comments would not apply to all CAEs, it seems that the latent structural conflicts envisaged by Treyvaud and McLaren have been manifested at GIAE. Puffin (1975) provides one possible explanation of why GIAE may be more vulnerable to a conflict between management styles than may be the case for some other higher education institutions. He contends that the hierarchical structure of government and semi-government agencies, particularly the SEC, has had a profound influence on the entire social structure of the Latrobe Valley and its various institutions.

> The hierarchical model is strictly pyramidal, and at each echelon there is careful observance of the proprieties of superordination and subordination. An institutional ethos that stresses the urgent importance of uninterrupted power supply and the social value of increased power consumption is internalized as a fear of disruption in the operations of any department. Judgements of managerial adequacy are accordingly made on the basis of whether one runs a tight ship . . .
> . . . on the part of the staff, employees, and the regional population at large, the acceptance of hierarchical authority is unchallenged and unquestioned. (pp.38–9)

Puffin (1975) believes that 'similar analysis of other institutions in the region would elicit parallel observations' and that GIAE in particular 'is an instance of a familiar cultural process, namely the tendency of social models to reduplicate themselves'. (p.39)

Initial Structural Change

When Hopper arrived at the Institute in 1970, he found that the organizational structure was essentially the same as that of the tertiary division of YTC. It was a departmental structure, with heads of department in each major teaching area—e.g. Head, Department of Civil Engineering, Head, Department of Electrical Engineering, and so on. The heads of department reported to the Deputy Principal who reported to the Director/Principal.

Hopper believed that a structure organized around 'schools' was preferable to one based on narrow subject departments. His thinking was influenced by a number of factors. The newer universities in Australia, such as Macquarie University in Sydney, were making innovations in the organization of academic disciplines. He wanted to avoid having a number of small departments, each with its own head.[23] The replacement of academic departments with schools would provide an opportunity to bring in new senior staff. At Hopper's insistence, in September 1970 the Council agreed to abolish the departmental structure and replace it with academic schools.

The abolition of departmental heads (appointed at senior lecturer level) created some conflict between the Director and the staff he inherited from YTC. At that time, departmental heads were mainly ex-Yallourn staff, or staff who had had significant experience at other technical colleges. The restructuring could be seen as a device to diminish their influence on the nature and character of the Institute. In all complex organizations, structural change may be initiated not only to achieve certain overall organizational goals, but to alter the pattern of interrelationships in terms of shunting people into or out of specific positions of power. Often, the two processes go hand in hand.

The ex-Yallourn staff did not hold higher degrees, and Hopper did not trust them to raise academic standards. It was new appointments, particularly those who held Ph.D.s, in whom Hopper initially put his faith. Later, some of these highly qualified outsiders, holding to a participatory, anti-hierarchical model of academic decision making, would help to exacerbate the structural strains experienced by the Institute. But in 1970 Hopper stated:

> Fundamental to all of the Council's decisions in this early stage of development has been its resolve to ensure that the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education will be a tertiary institution of the highest standard and one which will provide a quality of education for Gippsland equal to the best in Australia . . . It is particularly mindful of the need to ensure that the Institute is seen to be of a standard and prestige comparable to metropolitan institutions . . . For this purpose, the Council has given first priority to its programme of staff recruitment.[24]

In February 1972, further organizational changes were made: Art and Design (later called Visual Arts) was effectively separated from the School of Business and General Studies (later called Social Sciences). With the establishment of teacher education in 1973, approval was given by the VIC for a new head of school position. With the creation of this position, the Institute was organized around four schools, three of which were headed by a dean at head of school level (Business and Social Sciences, Education, and Engineering and Applied Sciences) and one (Visual Arts) by a Chairman appointed at principal lecturer level. The dynamics of the Institute's structure will be explored in detail in the following chapter.

New Academic Developments and Degree Courses

As discussed in Chapter 2, both Martin and Wark were unclear about the role of liberal studies in the colleges. Both of their reports spoke of the importance of liberalizing influences; beyond that, liberal studies somehow were to be tied to vocational and pragmatic ends. In 1970, the VIC did not advance the matter:

> It should be a primary objective of 'general studies' courses, as of all other tertiary courses in the affiliated colleges . . . to educate a graduate who is prepared for immediate and satisfying employment at a professional level in the community.[25]

Three years later the VIC was somewhat less confident that these courses were intrinsically vocational. The 1973 VIC policy document on degree courses within the humanities stated:

> Whilst it is acknowledged that it may not be appropriate, in the fields of the humanities, to demand that approved courses prepare students for narrowly specified vocational outlets, it is proposed to limit approvals to those proposed degree course programmes which would allow students to choose a course of major studies which can be shown to be in accordance with the employment opportunities in the community . . .
> Council (VIC) has been impressed by the demand by part-time students for diploma courses in humanities and wishes to encourage the colleges to extend this opportunity to degree students.[26]

While the VIC sought to hold onto a vocational distinction, it wanted to maintain a firm line on standards. The policy document states that in assessing all degree proposals involving humanities streams as majors, the VIC 'Board of Studies must be satisfied that proposals reach a standard in terms of content, staffing, assessment and facilities comparable to the standard of a degree of the Victorian universities'. The emphasis upon equal in the policy statement is clear, but the academic staff in the colleges can hardly be blamed for being confused about what was to be different.

The first new courses mounted by GIAE were a diploma in general studies and a diploma in art and design (Visual Arts). The GIAE diploma in general studies would serve as the basis for the later development of a bachelor degree in liberal arts. The GIAE diploma course in Visual Arts was designed for the aesthetic and cultural aspects of art, rather than for the utilitarian aspects of draftmanship and industrial design. The course started at GIAE in 1971 with an open academic structure, assessment on a pass/fail basis, and with the emphasis on student interaction with lecturers who were practising artists.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s a number of the colleges introduced general studies programs, and the Institute began teaching a diploma in general studies in 1971. Hopper saw great possibilities for the course if it was offered externally, and sought approval from the VIC. According to the Council, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Victorian Government was only interested in establishing external studies in the universities.

> The V.I.C. equally at that time could see no role for the colleges in external teaching and gave no encouragement initially to the development of external studies at the Gippsland Institute.[27]

But Hopper was able to convince Law of the VIC that offering the diploma in general studies externally would ensure its vocational nature. The main clientele would be school teachers and other professionals already in employment wanting to upgrade their qualifications. The first external students were enrolled in 1972.

The Director believed that GIAE would need to begin teaching at degree level as soon as possible. Even by 1972 he felt that the Institute lacked enough staff with higher qualifications to obtain approval from the VIC for degree courses. Had it been left solely to the Director, the Institute would have begun degree work much later than it did.[28]

It was members of the science staff who initially got the degree program off the ground. They were, primarily, the past members of YTC, many of whom thought the Director had little confidence in them. One member of the School of Applied Science involved in formulating the degree program, commented:

> Max [the Director] stated quite categorically that had he been appointed before us, none of us would have been employed. He wanted Ph.D.s, no matter who—it was the Ph.D.s who got the jobs. Later on, many of these appointments proved to be disastrous. But at that time, in Max's view, people in Engineering and Applied Science were the lowest of the low. Also, Max had a dislike for anyone who came from the Education Department.
>
> In 1971, I was at the height of despair. I and . . . [another member of Applied Science] decided to either resign or write a submission. We wrote a multi-disciplinary degree submission for Applied Science, which led to the original multi-disciplinary degree submission to the VIC—which would not have occurred for two or three years later had we not done the work. We were trying to prove that we were not a bunch of worthless dummies and that we had something to offer the Institute. Max's opinion was that the Institute could not think about mounting degree courses until a number of Ph.D.s were appointed. The submission was our response to this attitude.[29]

A team from the School of Applied Science approached the Director with the idea for a multi-disciplinary degree. Though he was not entirely certain that they were ready for degree work, he agreed to attempt to get the proposal through the VIC.

In the early days, the Director was involved in helping to write course submissions, and took a great deal of interest in the structure and development of a multi-disciplinary degree. He was impressed with the degree structure at Macquarie University, where all students—whether in science or arts—enrolled for the one B.A. degree, and were not streamed into single subject area majors.[30] The original multi-disciplinary degree submission outlined a degree program which would lead to either a bachelor of arts degree or a bachelor of applied science degree.

The multi-disciplinary degree has served as the basic structure around which the Institute has developed its course offerings. In 1975 a degree in engineering was included as a multi-disciplinary degree and in 1978 a degree in business studies was added also. The multi-disciplinary degree allows for a great deal of interaction within and across disciplines, and is one of the Institute's basic strengths. For example, students intending to qualify in teacher education can quite easily take courses in literature, mathematics, or applied science.

Once the associate diploma in welfare studies was introduced in 1977, students finishing the diploma could readily go on and complete a B.A. degree if they so wished. The science and technology students receive some social science and humanities, and the arts students are able to gain some knowledge of the sciences. Flexibility and the concept of a broad and rounded education is built into the degree structure. The Institute has yet to take full advantage of the multi-disciplinary concept. Classic rivalry among the disciplines and the lack of any clear philosophical commitment has retarded the possibilities inherent in the degree structure.

In 1972 members of the Institute saw that growth in student numbers lay more in the areas of the social sciences and humanities than in the technologies. Potential tertiary students from the Gippsland region in the early 1970s were no different from the rest of the nation. A survey of all Gippsland school leavers conducted in 1970 clearly showed that the vast majority of potential tertiary students were high school, rather than technical school leavers, mainly interested in degree work in non-technological subjects.[31] Drawing on the results of this survey, the submission for a multi-disciplinary degree stated that, though only 30 full-time and 150 part-time students were candidates for the diploma of general studies in 1972, a degree course in social sciences and humanities would attract an ultimate enrolment of not less than 500 students. In the same year there were 30 full-time and 10 part-time students enrolled for courses in the School of Applied Science. The submission stated that no specific indication of the likely demand for an applied science degree course could be made.

Seemingly, the CAE concept with its emphasis on vocational training, and GIAE B.A. degree with majors in such areas as sociology and english, make strange bed-fellows. In fact, the 1972 Preliminary Degree Submission listed geography, history and anthropology as subjects to be included in the degree program—areas in which the Institute has never taught. Philip Law of the VIC was strongly opposed to the introduction of non-vocational arts courses in the colleges. But the Director was able to argue successfully for the establishment of the degree at the Institute.

First, it was pointed out that the bulk of students who would enrol for the B.A. degree would be part-time and external. These would be people already in employment and seeking to upgrade their qualifications. The Institute also claimed that, as a regional college, it had a special case for teaching some non-vocational subjects. In the preliminary degree submission, the Director argued:

> The fact remains . . . that the present courses offered by the Institute ignore the needs of the vast majority of potential tertiary students in the region . . .
> A survey conducted in 1970 indicated that 350 students completed form 5 in the technical schools of the region while 1800 completed form 5 in high and registered schools . . . of the students in form 6 in the secondary schools (non-technical) in 1970, 75 per cent were enrolled in what is termed the Humanities/Commerce stream. Although a small number of these students have been attracted to the business studies and general studies courses offered by the Institute, it is clear that high school teachers and their students do not regard diploma courses as acceptable alternatives to degree programmes offered in metropolitan institutions. In short, there is no point in developing a tertiary teaching institution in this region if it is constrained to offer programmes acceptable to only a very small proportion of the potential tertiary students of the region.[32]

The proposal for a multi-disciplinary degree course was submitted to the VIC in 1972. In October 1973 the VIC approved the proposal. In 1980 Hopper commented on the multi-disciplinary degree:

> [probably the] hairiest thing that ever got through the VIC. I do not believe it would have gone through if the VIC did not have an obligation to us over the funding issue—they felt they had to give us something.[33]

Teaching of first-year courses in the multi-disciplinary degree started in 1974. The B.A. degree proved to be particularly popular with students. The School of Business and Social Sciences experienced a 140 per cent increase in student enrolments over the previous year. In fact, the Institute was finding it difficult to cope with the upsurge in demand for its courses. In March 1974 the student representative on Council asked whether the Institute might be enrolling too many students, too quickly and thus straining resources and lowering standards. In response to the query, the Director stated that 'it is a fallacy to assume that anything will be gained by stopping to mark time, as this is likely to result in a decreased level of financial support'.[34] It seemed that the Institute had finally started new course programmes which would attract new students, and along with teacher education (which would commence in 1975) would ensure its growth and development. By the end of that year the Director was suggesting that no more full-time students be enrolled for the B.A. degree, and some members felt that he wished to dispense with arts and humanities type courses altogether.

The B.A. Degree Conflict

During 1974 the Commission on Advanced Education became extremely concerned over what it believed to be the reproduction of university arts-type course, within the colleges. The Commission's Report for the 1976–78 triennium (published in mid-1975) strongly criticized the process of so-called 'upward academic drift' within the colleges, and stated:

> The Commission . . . expects college councils and state co-ordinating authorities to ensure that the fundamental vocational characteristics of college programs are preserved. Further, the Commission will not approve liberal arts courses which duplicate courses already offered in universities. (p.24)

The Report went on to state that 'full courses in liberal studies are appropriate in only a few institutions—regional colleges for example'. At the end of 1974 though GIAE had received VIC approval for the B.A., it had yet to receive consent from the Commission. In July 1974 the Commission informed the Institute of its insistence that the Commission give approval prior to the commencement of new courses. With approval still pending in November that year, the Director wrote to the Commission in the following terms:

> The Council of the Institute would like to stress that the B.A. degree course forms a central and essential part of an integrated educational programme for the whole Institute . . . Students in the teacher education courses to commence in 1975 will complete half of their studies in either Arts or Applied Science. Clearly, the great majority of teacher education students will select their non-education units from the Bachelor of Arts course. The B.A. degree course was designed and developed to meet the needs of the teaching profession.[35]

The Director perceived that the B.A., and thus the Institute, were under threat from outside forces. He reacted to limit the B.A. to what would appear as purely vocational ends. In November and December 1974 there was a rash of papers from the Director to Council which attempted to define (or re-define) the B.A. degree, and counter papers put up by the Board of the School of Business and Social Sciences. The Director reasoned that to tie the B.A. degree firmly to the training of teachers or to make it available mainly to external students—who were teachers and other persons already in employment upgrading qualifications—would make the B.A. a vocational degree. In a statement from the Director to Council, Hopper argued:

> The provision of a general education in Arts is a function of a university and not a college of advanced education as these are currently conceived . . .
>
> If academic staff in the School of Business and Social Sciences were to regard the offering of their subjects as integral parts of the Institute's

> vocational courses as a less important function than offering them as academic studies in their own right, we would face, in effect, the breakdown of the concept of a multi-purpose college of advanced education. If the Institute did not provide the means by which teachers (and some others) in full-time employment can gain formal qualifications for advancement in their professions, there would seem to be no remaining justification which we could advance, as a college of advanced education, for offering a B.A./Dip.A. degree.

Further on in his paper, the Director outlined what the consequences of the foregoing would be for academic decision-making:

> If Council is resolved to restrict the Institute's development within the role defined for a college of advanced education, and if, as we can expect, there is likely to be continuing pressure to develop along the more established lines of a university, then it will be necessary for Council to delegate responsibility for academic decision making in a far more controlled way than would be the case if there were no constraints upon our development. Another recent decision of the School of Business and Social Sciences would appear to conflict with this proposal. The School proposed 'that the membership of the Academic Board be broadened to include all tenured members of the Institute's teaching staff'. It is more likely if the Institute is to remain faithful to the college concept, that delegation of responsibility from Council will be to a far more limited group of senior academic staff.[36]

It is interesting to compare the GIAE case with Clark's observations on the American community college. This type of college, according to Clark (1980), 'seeks both the pure academic teacher and the more practical person who can show apprentices "how-to-do-it" in short-term occupational training' (p.23). In the community college Clark sees the 'academic-vocational schism' as the 'critical cleavage'. The above statements by the Director and their acceptance by Council laid the foundation for a similar ideological schism within GIAE.

In putting his paper and recommendations before Council, Hopper by-passed the School of Business and Social Sciences and the Academic Board. The recommendations were placed before the *ad hoc* Multi-disciplinary Degree Committee for forwarding to Council. Later, the School and the Academic Board were to object formally to this procedure. In February 1975 the Academic Board, on a vote of seven in favour, two against, and ten abstentions, accepted the following resolution from the School:

> The School of Business and Social Sciences is extremely concerned that a motion intimately affecting this Board should be introduced into the *ad hoc* Board of Studies for the multi-disciplinary degree for forwarding to Council and thus by-passing the proper procedure of having a motion discussed by this School Board and the Academic Board.[37]

There was lengthy discussion of the Director's paper at the December 1974 meeting of Council. Eventually, a motion on student priorities in the B.A. program was carried, with dissenting votes recorded by one full-time Council member and the students' representative on Council.[38] On the 21 January 1975 the Director wrote to the Dean of Business and Social Sciences informing him of Council's decision.

> The Council resolved that in accepting new students in 1975 in social sciences and humanities units offered by the School of Business and Social Sciences, the Institute's priorities shall be:
>
> (i) students enrolled in courses in teacher education, business studies, engineering, applied science and visual arts who require units in social sciences/humanities as part of the course in which they are enrolled;
>
> (ii) full-time students sponsored by an employer for a Diploma in Arts or Bachelor of Arts course . . .
>
> (iii) external students (including part-time students) in full-time employment. Women with home and/or family obligations are included in this category.[39]

Members of the School of Business and Social Sciences produced numerous arguments in defence of the B.A. program. They ranged from claiming that the Dip.A. and B.A. courses were intended primarily to meet the needs of full-time on-campus students seeking a general education without specific vocational purposes, to claiming that the degree was already inherently vocational.

Many members of the School felt betrayed by the perceived attempt to limit the role and function of the B.A. program. Previously, the emphasis within the Institute was on mounting new courses and attracting additional students. The potential for growth was not in the technological area. Rather, it was the new staff, brought to the Institute to teach English, sociology, psychology, economics, politics, business, and so on, on whom the Institute based its initial hopes for growth and development. As one staff member put it in February 1975: 'Last year we were asked to carry the can for the Institute—this year it is being emptied on us'.[40] On the other side there was the evident policy of the external authorities which was restrictive, since such courses had to serve vocational purposes. Thus it could be said that Council did not change its policy with regard to the role of the B.A. degree, but that it merely reconfirmed its commitment to vocational priorities. Once again, the division rested on two sides holding different aspirations: the Director and most Council members wishing to move development in conformity with their judgment of the current environmental pressures and the other seeing the development of an independent social sciences school as its priority.

In part, the intensity of the conflict over the B.A. degree was due to the growth in the size and complexity of the institution. In the first two or three years, the Director worked closely with academic staff on the development of course programs. With the appointment of additional staff and the development of a more complex administrative structure, this close contact was destroyed. One member of staff commented that 'the access we had to Max in those early days was quite remarkable, I felt I could knock on his door at any time. Because of this we felt that we had Max's support'. This staff member believed that the close contact between staff and the Director started to wane with the arrival of the deans and the creation of another step in the bureaucratic hierarchy.[41] In the first years of development, nearly all the time and energy of staff were consumed in teaching and designing courses. The President of the GIAE staff association stated in 1973, 'I predict an upsurge of militancy in the GIAESA when effective work loads begin to drop'.[42]

The Director had to react to an external threat emanating from the Commission on Advanced Education and, in part, he was protecting the employment of staff. Some members of academic staff, however, questioned the validity and extent of the external threat. Having built up social sciences and humanities, the administration had to devise a policy which would diminish the power and influence of these areas. One staff member commented that, while the process of containing the humanities and social sciences coincided with Canberra's rhetoric on vocationalism, it would have occurred in any case. Several staff members noted that, when it suited the interests of the administration, the Institute stood up to outside pressures. At other times, outside pressures were used against the academic staff. They felt that the institution has been governed by the 'notion of survival', not by any articulated educational philosophy. In 1974, the Institute experienced its first serious student demonstration. At one extreme, some members of staff believed that the administration and Council blamed the demonstration on radical elements—both staff and students—in the School of Business and Social Sciences, and, to discourage future demonstrations, they chose to limit the influence of the School and restrict full-time enrolments: 'teaching sociology to external housewives would not disrupt internal tranquillity'. When a dispute becomes entrenched, both sides find it appropriate to question the motives and purposes of the other: such comments are an index of the depth of feeling of many staff in the School of Business and Social Sciences. There was grave conflict, not debate, over these issues.

In the end, the B.A. program was confirmed by the Commission on Advanced Education. The School of Business and Social Sciences remained intact, and taught both internal and external students. Such esoteric subjects as literature, the politics of South America, and the sociology of sex roles remained in the curriculum. The opponents of the Director and the Council surely overstated their antagonism to the School's future. The number of internal students in the arts program has rapidly declined in recent years, while the external component has grown. But this is because of various social, economic, and demographic factors, not official institute priorities with regard to internal enrolments.

The conflict over the role and function of the B.A. degree did not produce any useful or meaningful change within the organization. It did not alter the Institute's basic structure, nor did it help members to redefine educational aims or goals or to make the Institute any more or less relevant to the 'community.' As with future conflicts, this one produced a great deal of heat but with few useful results. The Institute has yet to develop the mechanisms which will allow it to resolve internal conflicts in a positive manner. As long as it lacks these mechanisms, its response to environmental pressures and community needs will be *ad hoc* and incomplete.

What becomes clear from the above description of the conflict over the B.A. program is that the College institutionalized an inadequate style and structure of decision making—a style and structure determined as much by exogenous forces as by internal activities and personalities. In comparison with the universities, the CAEs have always been more constrained in their activities by external bureaucratic bodies. The constitution of the colleges, the requirements made on them in funding submissions and for reports on expenditure and the manner in which course programs are approved and accredited—places a director in a position of complete spokesman. When the Institute received less funds than it had sought and in the subsequent actions which led to the establishment of a School of Education, Hopper had no choice but to depend primarily on his Council for support. Many of the senior academic appointments had not even been made at that stage. However, since then, there has been strong resistance to allowing power within the institution to filter down from the top executive level of the hierarchy. At least in part this can be explained by the assessment that, if power is distributed, not only is it lost, but support is not gained. Further it requires, perhaps, an act of faith in academic norms on the part of institutional leaders, who very often see academic behaviour as inimical to good management and clear leadership.

Initially, academic staff in the School of Business and Social Sciences were appointed because of their high academic qualifications and wide background and experience. They were to raise academic standards, change the character of the institution, and mount courses which would attract the local high school matriculants in the non-technological areas. Many of these people had had past experience in universities, and they created some courses which resembled those in a university arts degree. They believed that this was exactly what they were being asked to do. Despite numerous rhetorical statements, neither the Institute's Council nor the VIC provided clear guidelines and structural arrangements which would ensure that courses in the areas of general education, social sciences, and the humanities would be strictly vocational—and moreover it is difficult to imagine how this could have been accomplished.

What the people with a university background also brought to the Institute was a belief in democratic government, participation in decision making and a commitment to the canons and standards of one's academic discipline more than to the institution itself. The conflict over the B.A. degree was as much to do with power and propriety in decision making, as with the particulars of course content and vocationalism. It would be surprising, however, if GIAE was at all unique in this regard.

The conflict over the B.A. degree should not be seen as involving all academic staff—as a solidarity group—on the one hand, and the Council and administration on the other. Members of the School of Business and Social Sciences were suspicious of the motives of those belonging to the School of Education, and feared they might have to play a mere service role for students in that School. Staff in the Schools of Applied Science and Engineering had experienced a loss in influence and prestige through the introduction of a school structure of academic organization. Also, in the early years, the technologies were seen as low-status courses within the Institute. Members of these schools were not going to mount a protest against a policy which would limit the standing of the arts degree. Staff in Visual Arts more or less stood outside the dispute. What all members of staff shared in common was a structure of academic decision making which was not able to play an effective part and so could not be used to avoid fundamental conflict, or ameliorate disputes. This created a situation where staff members were unable to pursue major goals and aims with a degree of cohesion and unity.

Conclusion

In complex organizations, planned developments always have their unintended as well as their intended consequences. In educational organizations, the gap between theory and practice in terms of what is to be achieved by new initiatives is probably larger than in most other types of organizations. The early attempts at GIAE to found new academic programs, and to upgrade existing courses, created degrees of conflict on several levels. But this observation does not detract from the dedication and effort which the various participants devoted to the building of GIAE. During the pioneering years, administrative and academic staff strove under very heavy workloads to create an institution of academic quality. They were able to win approval for the Institute's courses from students, professional organizations, and accrediting bodies and, in the process, extend educational opportunities to the people of Gippsland. The establishment of the School of Education fulfilled a long-established desire of the local population, and the introduction of the B.A. degree further enriched the range of courses available to local residents. Under the direction and foresight of the Director, the initiation of a program to offer these and other courses externally ensured GIAE's survival. The growth and development of GIAE was possible only through the high level of dedication, by all concerned, to the idea of a quality regional college, even though certain aspects of the idea itself were under dispute.

7

STRUCTURAL CONFLICT AND NORMATIVE BEHAVIOUR: THE CASE OF COMPETING PARADIGMS OF INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT AND ACADEMIC DECISION MAKING

It's on

A sad story you'll hear, if you listen to me,
about two men who could never agree.
What one said was white, the other called black;
they'd argue a while and then step out back and it's on!

Chorus

All reason and logic are gone.
Winning the fight won't prove that you're right;
it's sad, it's true . . . but it's on!

When it was over they'd come back and then
the argument would become heated again;
who'd won the last round they couldn't decide,
till one asked the other . . . would he step outside
and it's on!

They'd been fighting so long that could neither recall
what in the first place had started it all.
But they keep at it day in and day out;
now they're fighting to see what they're fighting about
and it's on!

Just you imagine if intellectuals
taught mathematics by Queensbury's rules!
It could easily be, the square root of four
was fifteen less three, plus a smack in the jaw
and it's on!

And if governments think that it makes better sense
to save on education and spend on defence;
could be easily argued, on the same grounds,
elections should be . . . the best of ten rounds
and it's on!

Don Henderson

Conflict and co-operation within complex organizations are merely two sides of the same coin. Over the years the men and women who constitute GIAE have worked closely together in order to achieve organizational objectives, devoting their time and skill to writing submissions for new course developments, to soliciting support for the Institute in the local community and further afield, and, most of all, to ensuring that students receive the best higher education possible. The high level of professionalism of both staff and administrators has resulted in first-class courses—appreciated by students, employers and many professional agencies. By its very nature, the complex organization is based on a division of labour, and in so far as the division is not equal, conflict is inevitable; or, as Robinson (1982, p.106) states in his review of Pfeffer (1981), 'conflict is not a symbol of organizational malfunctioning, but the reflection of different levels of advantage or disadvantage'.

Conflict is an inherent feature of all complex organizations, and is the result of a variety of factors: status, the distribution of power, group interest, philosophical difference, and so on. It needs to be remembered that it is people who are in conflict. Structures, for example, do not argue or disagree with each other—people do. None the less, the structural positions in which people find themselves affect how they interact. The nature of human conflict is shaped by factors which go well beyond the specific personalities of those involved. The exploration of conflict requires the examination of both the biographies of individuals and the historical circumstances in which they find themselves. This chapter takes a thorough look at the dynamics of interpersonal relationships at GIAE in the light of the historical and structural context.

A Note on Structure

In the last 15 to 20 years, both administrators and academics in colleges and universities throughout the world have become more conscious of the importance of internal structural arrangements. Various structural innovations, such as academic schools, common foundation years, inter-disciplinary teaching teams, etc., have been explored. In many institutions, particularly the newer ones, academic government has been 'democratized', with more opportunity for the participation of students and junior members of staff in the decision-making process. The literature shows that, while many different types of structural arrangement have been explored, no institution has hit upon the ideal formula. Often, structural innovations are introduced to enhance expediency in decision making and to allow the institution to pursue its basic goals in a more rational and methodical manner. In many cases, the architects of structural innovations have been disappointed by the results (Meek, 1982).

This is probably because structural arrangements can never solve all organizational problems, and decision making in higher educational institutions is contingent upon many factors—the political climate, the ability and personality of participants, the cultural setting, the nature of the issues, etc.—of which structure is only one. Moreover, as Cohen and March (1974) demonstrate, decision making and problem solving in colleges and universities do not lend themselves to straightforward bureaucratic techniques. The problems and issues are too ambiguous and diffuse to be solved solely through the use of rational-legal bureaucratic patterns (in the Weberian sense). In such institutions it is often the case that 'solutions are looking for problems', rather than the other way around. Cohen and March (1974) describe American universities as 'organised anarchies' in which decision making takes place amongst a 'complex garbage can' of issues:

> We have tried to translate a set of observations made in the study of some university organizations into a model of decision making in what we have called organized anarchies—that is, in situations which do not meet the conditions for more classical models of decision making in some or all of three important ways: preferences are problematic, technology is unclear, or participation is fluid. The garbage can process . . . is one in which problems, solutions, and participants move from one choice opportunity to another in such a way that the nature of the choice, the time it takes, and the problems it solves all depend on a relatively complicated intermeshing of the mix of choices available at any one time, the mix of problems that have access to the organization, the mix of solutions looking for problems, and the outside demands on the decision makers. (p.90)

None the less, the pattern of interrelationships within an organization is to be ignored at the organization's peril. What the literature also suggests is that, while open and democratic decision making does not *necessarily* reduce conflict, structures which are *seen* to exclude certain individuals or groups from the decision-making process have a tendency to polarize the organization.

GIAE, in its short history, has pursued numerous structural alterations. This is, in part, because of the institution's age and because the initial structure was established at a time when senior academic appointments had yet to be made. For example, the first academic board regulations provided for the membership of principal lecturers. However, principal lecturers had yet to be appointed and, thus, membership was extended to senior lecturers. The School Boards included in their membership all staff at assistant lecturer level and above. With the appointment of more staff, and particularly of more senior academic staff, the various boards and committees were becoming large and unwieldly. In the early years, the deans—once they were appointed—found that much of their time was taken up by day-to-day administrative matters, and that they lacked opportunity to participate in the overall academic leadership of the Institute. Towards the end of 1974 and the beginning of 1975, the Director proposed a number of structural alterations designed to improve the efficiency of decision making and to give greater responsibility for academic leadership to senior staff members.

But many staff at GIAE think that structural change has come from conflict over other major issues. This may be mere coincidence, for the Institute has continually sought alterations in its basic structure. It may well be that the Council perceives that it is moving to overcome weaknesses as they are identified while some of the staff perceive that in the midst of the debate over an important issue, the rules of the game are altered. The typical conflict which emerges is that structural change proposed from the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy has the effect of limiting access to the decision-making process, while change proposed from below suggests increased participation. Such conflict makes it unlikely that debate about structure will serve as a cohesive force within the Institute; structural change often results in the alienation of some members of staff.

The Formal Structure and Informal Aspects of Leadership: the Failure to Create Charisma

Because of the lack of senior academic staff in the early years, the Director was heavily involved in academic planning at the school level, and had to provide much of the day-to-day academic leadership. Following the appointment of senior staff and the growing complexity of the Institute in both academic and administrative areas, it was no longer possible or appropriate for him to perform such a broad role within the organization. In March 1975 the Director proposed to Council, through its Staffing Committee, the establishment of a management board. The board would consist of the Director as Chairman, the heads of schools, deputy principal, librarian and head of the Educational Services Division. The function of the board would be to 'advise the Director on the development and possible alternative means of implementation of Council policy on those matters involving the commitment or distribution of resources'.[1] The Board would make recommendations through the Director to Council or its committees.

There are two arguments which can be made for the creation of such bodies as the management board. First, there is the notion that this type of committee will facilitate the implementation of Council policy, and second, there is the desirability of having a creative senior management group about the Director. On several occasions the Director argued that the structure served two basic functions: on the one hand, he stated that there should be bodies and committees designed to develop Council policy and, on the other, bodies designed to implement the policy, once formulated. The structure was designed to separate the two functions, with such committees as the management board falling into the latter category and the Academic Board into the former. In practice, GIAE has experienced difficulty in maintaining a clear functional distinction between the processes of policy formation and policy implementation. In fact, it is probably impossible for any academic organization rigorously to separate the two processes—the nature of the enterprise and the garbage-can effect prevent it. For example, at GIAE, committees like the Management Board are designed to implement the policies which Council sets on such matters as student quotas and staffing levels in the various teaching areas. But such committees help to formulate the policies in the first place by providing the Council, through the Director, with the relevant information. When the Director, deans, and heads of divisions come together to discuss quotas and staff establishments, they argue for the greatest possible number of staff for their respective areas and base their arguments on the educational needs of the Institute. Also, while it is supposedly the responsibility of the Academic Board to develop policy with regard to academic initiatives, no course can be provided unless there is sufficient staff to teach it. Such committees as the Management Board (and later the Director's Executive Committee) do much more than methodically implement policies made elsewhere in the structure—they have a fundamental impact on the direction of the Institute.

While it is common practice in organizations to differentiate the functions and responsibilities of various committees, problems are created when people insist upon clear distinctions within the committee system, and the use of the notion of a structural difference between policy implementation and policy formation results in a stifling of internal debate. One can expect that members of an academic board will know that decisions about student quotas and staffing levels affect the nature of the academic program. When members of the GIAE Board question the quotas and staffing levels set for the various schools, they are told that this is not part of the Board's proper function—Council determines the policy, and committees other than the Board implement it. Of course, it is a common problem for academic boards to be jealous of their preogatives and vigilant in the defence of their powers. On the other side, the executive management role of a director and the ultimate authority status of a council may seem to be threatened by an assertive academic board.

The notion that some committees should implement policy and others should develop it was intended to make decision making within GIAE more rational and efficient. In practice, however, this aspect of the formal structure has become a major source of division and conflict; a topic to be considered in more detail when the role of the Director's Executive Committee is discussed.

The second rationale behind the establishment of such bodies as the Management Board is the expectation that they will provide the atmosphere and mechanism which will allow senior staff to charter the Institute's course of development creatively—a notion which in itself competes with formal prescriptions on policy formation/implementation. None the less, as Eisenstadt (1965) has observed, the importance of an elite core of organizational leaders in the process of 'institution building', should not be underestimated:

> The crucial problem is the presence or absence, in one or several institutional spheres, of an active group of special 'entrepreneurs', an elite, able to offer solutions to the new range of problems . . . Weber came closest to recognizing this problem when he stressed that the creation of new institutional structures depends heavily on the 'push' given by various 'charismatic' groups or personalities, and that the routinization of charisma is critical for the crystallization and continuation of new institutional structures. (p.55)

It is doubtful, however, that an institution can create this type of leadership group through the direct manipulation of the formal structure. Charismatic leadership does not depend on formal structure for its emergence, though structural change may result from the exercise of leadership.

GIAE has had serious problems concerning the development of an 'elite core of institutional entrepreneurs'. In common with many small colleges, the Institute lacks depth and expertise at the 'middle-management' level. It has only three positions at the level of dean, and on several occasions one or more of the positions have been vacant. Within the college system, academic positions are generally ranked as follows: tutor, senior tutor (or assistant lecturer), lecturer, senior lecturer, principal lecturer, head of school (though this can be used as a title held by someone with principal lecturer status as well as being a classification in its own right). The principal lecturer and head of school positions are unlike those of reader, associate professor, or professor in the university hierarchy, and this has significant consequences in college management.

The title of professor provides access to an elite group, epitomized, until recently, by the role of the 'professorial board' in many universities. Principal lecturers do not constitute a formal leadership group in the colleges (unless they are heads of departments), nor do they feel any informal affinity with each other because of their rank and position. The position lacks the traditional expectations which are attached to that of professor. While one might expect a group of professors to perform an entrepreneurial leadership function, the same expectation is not applicable to principal lecturers in the college system. Those who have head of school or head of department status might be assumed to have such a function. Thus, one might expect deans at GIAE to perform their prescribed formal leadership roles and to form an informal group, capable of transcending day-to-day administrative problems. Because of their small number and the structure in which they must work, they have been, as a group, incapable of this function.

In 1979 and 1980, the Institute experienced further structural alterations. The Director recommended that the four schools become six divisions, each with its own head. The schools would be paired, and under the leadership of three deans, namely: Dean of Business and Social Sciences; Dean of Engineering and Applied Science; Dean of Arts and Education.

By and large, this change was a natural 'evolution' in the Institute's structural development. The six schools—Engineering, Applied Science, Business, Social Sciences, Education, and Visual Arts—were, in effect, already functioning as separate entities, though there was a closer relationship between Business and Social Sciences than was the case for the other schools. It only remained to give the six teaching divisions formal status by appointing a head for each area. Moreover the schools had grown in size and there was a need for the deans to delegate administrative responsibilities to heads of the various divisions. This means that the number of senior positions increased from four heads (three deans and the Head of the Visual Arts area) to nine deans and heads, which increased the size of the core available to play an extra-structural, entrepreneurial leadership role. It seems that formal structural conflicts, competing interest groups, and the day-to-day competitive political process stood in the way of these position holders forming an entrepreneurial leadership group. The functional right to determine the Institute's basic direction, goals, and aims remained in the hands of the top administrative officials and the Council, though this does not imply that the top administrative officials—particularly the Director—and the Council have all the power in the organization, nor that they can determine policy decisions at will.

The main factors which inhibit the formation of an informal group of institutional elites at GIAE are the size of the organization, the way in which power is distributed, and the way in which structural and ideological cleavages are linked. Because GIAE has only approximately 100 academic staff and about 10 key administrative staff, everyone knows everyone else and personality clashes become important. The personal relationships between the Director and his senior staff members have varied greatly over the years. Personality clashes can be identified with the distribution of power and structural cleavages.

The impact of basic personality factors on the structure and function of complex organizations cannot be ignored. From the sociological literature, one would expect that people working together over a number of years would develop some form of close emotional bond. Clark (1980), for example, writes:

> Those who have worked together for a decade are likely to develop some shared feelings about their organization, a set of beliefs that help to define their place in life and give meaning to the fact of having contributed so much time and effort to a particular institution. The meaning provided by shared symbols gives people additional rewards for having contributed so much of themselves. (p.10)

But the other possibility also exists: people working closely together over a long period may allow interpersonal animosities to become major factors for organizational division and cleavage. In understanding the operation of complex organizations, the researcher needs to take account of not only the significance of emotional bonding and shared symbols, but also of basic human dislikes and the simple human desire to settle old scores. There has been a great deal of internal strain at GIAE resulting from interpersonal conflict. The situation has been exacerbated by the organization's degree of isolation from other social institutions and the fact that some members have been restricted in their professional mobility. Fundamentally this conflict is interrelated with the ebb and flow of debate and dispute over power, status, and resource competition within the Institute.

Many informants noted that, in the first few years of establishment, the GIAE community was relatively close-knit and there was more social intermixing of academic and administrative staff than was the case during the period of field research. For example, in the early years, several staff members, both administrative and academic, attended a regular Friday night session at one of the local pubs. This group met regularly enough to be seen as an inner circle by staff members.[2] The unwritten rule of the group was that while in the pub they were 'in cabinet', and what was said on Friday night would not be repeated at the Institute on Monday morning. Many students drank at the same pub and, on invitation, would join the circle of staff. The arrangement worked well for a period of time and allowed people to put their point of view and air their problems in a relaxed and informal atmosphere. Eventually the rule about not using information gained at the pub for Institute politics broke down, and several people—particularly administrative staff—had their positions within the Institute compromised. Adverse comments made about certain colleagues would be repeated, information gained at the pub would be used in attempts to influence decisions, and so on.[3] This not only resulted in the dissolution of the group, but laid the basis for several long-standing interpersonal conflicts. During the period of field research, some members of academic staff could be observed drinking together at the local pub while nearly all members of the administrative staff holding sensitive positions were conspicuous by their absence. For its size, social relationships at GIAE are very restricted; this, in turn, has increased the power of rumour and gossip.

As is the case with most organizations, power and influence within GIAE rests not only with the individual's position of authority, but also with the individual's relationship to the top administrative hierarchy. In any university or CAE, the head interacts closely with a small number of people, and all deans (or others holding similar positions) do not have equal access. Further, the degree of access of particular deans will change over time. While this is a common situation, it does create some tension when there are only a small number of senior staff present. When the core of senior staff is restricted, any difference in the degree of influence becomes more visible, and those with less influence can do little to change the situation by the weight of their numbers.

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Senior academic staff within the GIAE are split, not only by the manner in which power and influence are distributed, but also by their positions in relation to the structure of the academic programs. The school structure of academic organization is meant to break down the barriers between the various intellectual disciplines. Because of historical circumstance and the way in which the Institute has been forced to shift its emphasis and resources from one area to another, co-operation across the intellectual disciplines has been limited. The deans and heads of school often find that they must attempt to advance the priorities of their own school over those of others, rather than think creatively about co-operative programmes. Within all higher education institutions there exists animosity, to varying degrees, between the arts/humanities staff and the science/technology staff. The historical development of GIAE has helped to further this split. In the early years of development, the staff in the School of Engineering and Applied Science lacked prestige within the organization's social structure. In the present atmosphere, the Institute's emphasis has shifted back to the technologies, and it is with a certain sense of satisfaction that some members of the School of Engineering and Applied Science see attempts to remove resources from the area of social science and humanities. The occurrence of such a phenomenon, given the historical circumstances, should be expected. But such animosity hinders the process of planning for balanced development, and it limits the potential for co-operation contained within the school system of academic organization and the multi-disciplinary degree structure.

The Institute has yet to establish either a formal or informal core of institutional elites, capable of transcending internal political strains, and able to provide a general overview and 'impetus' to the organization. As a consequence, the emphasis in academic planning has been determined by what is defined at any one time as relevant by the external environment. CAEs were established to be relevant to the needs of industry, commerce, and the community in general. But the term relevant can be used in an empty rhetorical way to justify a continual change of goals to match political circumstances. In such a case it is difficult for either the providers or the consumers of a service to know where they stand.

Management Paradigms and Ideological Cleavages

The administration and Council of GIAE perceived a series of threats to the Institute's survival and felt they had no choice but to respond to the major political thrusts and definitions relating to higher education emanating from the external environment. The Director and key members of Council have been extremely successful in protecting the Institute from political snipers and government agencies. On those occasions when the Institute has been threatened, the Director and Council were able to mobilize the support of the local community. Higher education takes place in a political context, and there is little advantage in arguing otherwise (Harman, 1970). Educational politics, as the President of Council noted, is one of the roughest of the political games.[4] Without the efforts of the Director and key Council members, a discussion of appropriate internal structures, courses which best fit the needs of students, and so on, would probably be purely academic. There is a danger that, when an institution thinks it has to fight continually for survival in a hostile political and financial climate, then survival for survival's sake becomes the dominant factor which influences the behaviour of organizational members. When an institution is at political war, any internal criticism of the organization and questioning of the main channels of authority become tantamount to treason.

One of the paradoxes faced by GIAE is that, while there has been a continual attempt to create a structure which supports those in positions of authority and allows for rapid change in direction, the end result has been an organizational pattern which creates conflict between the various authority figures and inhibits change. Some organizational members take a machiavellian view of the situation, believing that structures have been consciously designed to divide and rule. The more appropriate interpretation is that the Institute has suffered from competing paradigms[5] of organizational management, which in turn has resulted in a high degree of normative conflict.

Higher education institutions belong to a class of organizations generally referred to as normative organizations (Etzioni, 1961). In a number of papers and monographs, Clark has cogently demonstrated that the culture, ideology, and belief systems of academic organizations are an integral feature of the administrative setting. Clark (1980) argues:

> As a general type, academic systems—those formed in higher education—are ideologically loaded. They are full of 'men of ideas,' persons well-known for a certain piety in self-definition that comes from avoiding the crass marketplace while enlisting to serve knowledge, youth, and the general welfare. The purported altruism of one of the oldest professions is brought into play. Hence academic sites can and often do reek with lofty doctrines that elicit emotion in an almost religious fashion. (p.1)

Both between and within institutions there is, of course, a great deal of variance in the cultural and symbolic aspects of academic behaviour. Within the organization, it is the academic discipline which 'provides a primary culture for academic workers', and determines the degree of cultural variance (Clark, 1980, p.6). For example, it is commonly observed that the symbols and ideologies of social sciences and humanities differ greatly from those of the physical sciences and, moreover, that there is much less consensus on doctrines and ideologies among the former group than there is for the latter one. Clark (1980) explains this situation by noting that those in the social sciences and humanities live in a more imprecise and precarious world relative to the environment of the physical scientists:

> Hence social scientists and humanists, disunited within their fields on grounds of basic approach, theory, and methods, are more vulnerable to ideology in the narrower sense of the word, a specific political or worldview brought into one's work from outside sources. In this meaning of ideology, disciplinary cultures vary greatly in degree of openness and vulnerability; very little in mathematics, physics, and chemistry; relatively high in sociology, political science, and history. (p.6)

The notion of differences and strain between disciplinary cultures, coupled with Gouldner's (1958) classic distinction between the 'cosmopolitan' and 'local' academic, explains much of the behaviour within GIAE.

It is easy to imagine how certain aspects of the academic culture, such as the belief that academic organizations exist to transmit the cultural heritage of the society, may conflict with the vocational philosophy of the CAE system. Those who pioneered the CAE system hoped to obtain staff who were able to teach vocationally oriented courses: it was seen to be important that the new staff had past experience in commerce or industry (CACAE, 1969). They failed to take account of two factors: first, through necessity a large number of college staff would come to advanced education direct from other higher educational organizations; and second, as the technical colleges became fully fledged tertiary organizations they would develop their own academic culture or ambience.

A more detailed discussion on the problems created by the philosophy of vocationalism within advanced education will be provided later. Here, it is important to note that, because of the normative nature of the academic enterprise, such institutions cannot be manipulated and changed in the same way as industrial organizations or prisons can (Clark, 1980). When structuctures and patterns of decision making are thought to be in conflict with basic academic norms—such as academic freedom[6], professional collective decision making, democratic government, etc.—disputes of an ideological nature will follow. This form of conflict can rapidly become intractable, with participants basing their actions upon opposing sets of values and finding it extremely difficult to communicate with each other. Structural change within GIAE has proceeded in the absence of due consideration for the normative nature of the enterprise.

The Move towards Hierarchy

At the end of 1974, the School Board of Business and Social Sciences passed a motion which, if implemented, would have had the effect of extending the membership of the Academic Board. The Director, however, was also making suggestions with regard to structural arrangements. It was noted in Chapter 6 that Hopper had advised Council that a university pattern of academic decision making was inappropriate for a vocationally oriented CAE. The School Board replied to the Director's statement in the following terms:

> Modern management experience shows overwhelmingly that any institution works best when competent people are made to feel that they can have a part in creating the future development of the institution. When this Schools Board passed the resolution 'that membership of the Academic Board be broadened to include all tenured members of staff' and that for the purpose of academic appointments in this School, the only form of professional assessment compatible with academic freedom is the esteem of one's peers', the Board was trying to make the point that those institutions run best which fully utilize the capabilities of employees.[7]

Until March 1975, the Institute was structured around four school boards. Each school board contained most of the members teaching in the school and was responsible for the design of courses, admissions, examinations, and other academic matters. The school boards reported directly to the Academic Board.

In early 1975, the Director recommended to Council, through the Staffing Committee of Council, the abolition of school boards and their replacement by six boards of studies.[8] The new boards of studies would be much more restrictive in their membership than the school boards. Council accepted the Director's recommendations which also resulted in a restructuring of the Academic Board. The new regulations gave the Director and Council a good deal of formal responsibility for selecting who would participate in the academic committee structure. They also determined that the membership of the Academic Board would consist mainly of senior academic staff. Only a few months after the School Board in Business and Social Sciences had requested greater elected academic representation in the formal committee system, the Institute moved in the opposite direction.

Because of the increasing complexity of course offerings in the Institute's six major teaching areas, it was a logical progression to replace the four school boards, with six boards of studies. The new structure, however, left the academic staff with no formal avenue to participate as a school in the decision-making process. Eventually a provision was made for staff meeting as a school to recommend either to the board of studies or to the Academic Board, through the Dean who chaired such meetings. Since the recommendations carried to the Boards by the Dean were more in the form of suggestions than formal proposals, this link was only semi-formal in a structural sense. Furthermore, the deans were not bound to argue the merits of suggestions put at school meetings.

One of the basic problems with the change of structure which occurred in early 1975 was that it took place in the midst of other disputes. At the same time there was the conflict over the B.A. degree, and some members of staff who were actively involved in the dispute feared that the change in structure was designed to remove them from the decision-making process. The proposals were brought to Council through its Staffing Committee, which was somewhat of an unusual procedure. While the Director claimed he had discussed the proposals with senior staff, the academic body, as a whole, had hoped for more opportunity to participate in the design of new arrangements. Academic staff became increasingly annoyed at persistent structural change in the absence of extensive consultation. As a consequence, many staff became alienated from the institution and either left the organization or, in the words of one informant, 'lost interest in the Institute and went home to water their mortgages'.

Autonomy and Accountability

The creation of clear and firm contractual arrangements for academic decision making—arrangements which could be accepted and agreed upon by all members of the organization—still proved to be elusive, even by the end of 1975. In November 1975, the President of the GIAE Staff Association, Mr K. Hamilton, felt strongly enough about the problem to submit a paper to Council which outlined the various factors involved. It is significant that the paper came from the staff association, not from the Academic Board. Increasingly, the Institute would find that the problem of separating industrial from academic interests was a central concern. The paper was appropriately entitled 'Autonomy and Accountability'.[9]

Hamilton argued that 'the entire Institute community is far too concerned with "in-fighting", "point scoring" and "empire building" rather than with ensuring the cohesion and co-operation necessary to secure a balanced development'. He noted the need for greater circulation and discussion of policy proposals before they were presented to Council: 'we do not live in a secret society and matters vitally affecting the Institute and its people must not be rushed through Council without full prior examination'.

It was Hamilton's belief and that of the academic staff association that, while Council had the autonomy to make the final decision, accountability for the decisions made was a two-way process. However, an appropriate structure to facilitate two-way communication and responsibility did not exist within the Institute. He wrote that: 'Because of the present divisive nature of the Institute, much confusion exists over the extent and exercise of delegated authority'. 'The Institute', he stated later, 'is now far too complex to operate as a loose-knit family organization. We require formalization of conduct of meetings to ensure efficiency in dealing with the business at hand'. In his paper, he deplored the 'changes of policy at the first sign of controversy' and called for more democratic participation by all members of the Institute in the formation of policy. He accepted the fact that controversy would, and probably should, exist within the Institute, but that conflict should be conducted in a 'professional manner', and that staff were 'entitled to express opinions in debate without fear or prejudice'. Hamilton believed that, if relations within the Institute did not improve, the ultimate losers would be the students and the community.

The staff association's paper was considered and discussed by the Council in early 1976, with the Director writing a lengthy reply.[10] In later years there would be less tolerance of critical submissions from the staff association. The executive of the association at that time had a distinct advantage over their latter day counterparts—they were predominantly of the 'old guard', i.e. ex-YTC employees. Hamilton was not a 'young turk' from the social sciences or humanities, but a member of the School of Applied Science who had taught at YTC. The old guard were seen as 'Gippslanders'—particularly by key members of Council—or as 'locals' in the sense that Gouldner (1958) uses the term. Though the Council did not necessarily agree with their arguments, at least they received a hearing.

It is interesting to note that members of the old guard in the School of Engineering and Applied Science were changing their standing within the institution. In 1975, they were yet to enjoy the standing and prestige which they were to have by the end of 1980, but they were now certainly more popular with the Director and Council than they were in 1970. With the conflict over the B.A. degree and the need for the Institute to insist that it was vocational, courses in engineering and applied science became significantly more important in terms of the internal balance in prestige amongst the schools.

The Director did not entirely support Hamilton's call for two-way accountability and responsibility in academic decision making. Rather, he reinforced the fact that it was Council, not academic staff, who determined policy. This role of Council is established by constitution or charter and reinforced by government agency. The Director based his argument about the primacy of Council in academic decision making on the Fourth Report of the Commission on Advanced Education. The Commission's Report stated firmly that staff are appointed to implement the policies of the college council, that college council represents the needs of the community, and that, because council members are the representatives of the community, they must ensure that all activities of staff conform to community needs.

In reality, the day-to-day practice of college councils is substantially different from the theoretical statements made by the Commission. During the period of field research, one member stated at a Council meeting that she often felt ill-informed about the internal academic workings of the college, and the attitudes and opinions of academic staff. She lived some distance from the campus and travelled to the Institute once a month to cast a vote on important decisions on which she lacked detailed knowledge. In reply, the Director stated that Council members were the representatives of the community, the Council was the supreme decision-making body and that Council members should feel no responsibility or compulsion to confer with academic staff on major policy issues. It was Council, not academic staff, which determined policy.

Although the Council does have academic staff among its membership, it is unlikely that this or any other council could represent the community in any complete sense. The Council differs from the general community profile in very substantial ways. Nor is the

Council representative of the community in the sense that members are elected or appointed by the community. The Director is an *ex officio* member of Council, three members are elected, one by convocation, one by students, and one by the academic staff of the Institute. A second staff member is appointed to Council by the Academic Board, with the remaining appointments made by either co-option by the Council itself (nine members) or by external authorities: seven members by the Governor-in-Council, one member by the Minister of Education, and one member by the VIC (up to and including 1980 only). The Constitution of Council states that those appointed by the Governor-in-Council should represent commerce and industry, and those co-opted by Council should have an interest in higher education, particularly with regard to its relationship with commerce and industry. However, there are no clear guidelines as to how such people are to be selected. The Governor-in-Council, for example, does not randomly survey Gippsland residents who have an interest in commerce and industry in order to assess their suitability as members of the Council. Rather, Council itself—through its Membership Committee—suggests names as to who should be members; thus, in practice, this process is not undertaken by Council as a whole—as a body corporate. It is those most active in Council affairs, particularly the President and the Director, who informally select membership and forward names—though officially approved by Council—to the appropriate appointing authority. In this sense, the Council is self-selecting in terms of membership.

Council should not be viewed as a united, homogeneous, cohesive group, with decisions made in an atmosphere of complete democracy and consensus. Only a small proportion of the membership actively participates in the debate over any issue. Yet, as the issues change, it is the same members who participate in the debate. The statements by the Commission on Advanced Education in its Fourth Report imply that the colleges should be guided by the collective wisdom of council members. But college councils—or any other committee in the field of higher education—do not operate as simple units. The collective wisdom is the eventual result of a complex process involving groups with power and influence, and competition between them (for comparisons see Baldridge, 1971, 1980; Meek, 1982; Cohen and March, 1974 van den Berghe, 1973).

On the GIAE Council, power to influence or determine results is concentrated in the hands of a few members. Influence on Council is associated with two main variables—position and knowledge of the issues at hand with experience in debate and experience in procedures as contributing factors. These variables are not independent, as those who chair council committees—Staffing Committee, External Studies Committee, Professional Services Committee, Finance Committee, Campus-Community Services Committee, Buildings Committee and the Academic Board—are in positions to be better informed about issues and, in general, exercise the most influence. This inner group is also self-selecting, except for the Director who chairs the Academic Board and External Studies Committees, since members must be prepared to give up a large amount of personal time in order to participate in college affairs. Academic staff representatives on Council are also in a position to have detailed knowledge of the issues, but their influence is dependent upon the political climate and their relationship with key management personnel and other powerful Council members. In the past, the VIC appointments to Council have held high-status positions on Council as a result of their eminent standing as academics. However they have been based in Melbourne and have, in general, lacked detailed knowledge of local issues. According to the President of Council only a few members have a general overview of the various issues.

As one might expect, the most powerful members on Council are the President and the Director. With these two men there is a one-to-one relationship between position and knowledge of issues. During the period of field research, the President often exercised his authority as Chairman to foreclose debate and help structure the voting on a particular issue. The majority of Council members were dependent on the Director for knowledge and background when a policy was introduced. Hopper was either Chairman or a member of all council committees and, in the majority of cases, the actual decision on a certain policy would have been taken before it reached Council level. The Director presents the resolutions of Academic Board to Council, but is not bound to argue the merits of such resolutions. In fact, on a few occasions he would argue vehemently against the content and spirit of particular resolutions passed by the Academic Board. In turn, the President of Council saw that he was in a position which required him to support the Director in the debate over major policies. In some instances this placed the President in a particularly difficult position.

While the Council is the ultimate authority in the College, in practice its decisions represent the view of a powerful few. The Council employs the Director to implement its policies, and quite correctly must provide him not only with formal authority, but also with

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general support and encouragement. Many of the councillors hold key positions in local business, industry and semi-government bureaucracies and, thus, they apply a business model—a model where a council or board of directors must either support its executive officers or discharge them—to college management. It needs to be recognized that the Institute's hierarchical authority structure is also a function of the organizational background of key Council members.

Council not only functions as the formal policy-making body within the Institute, it also acts informally as a 'club' or 'society' for influential local residents. The Latrobe Valley has few entertainment outlets for its upper-middle class and professional citizenry. While it has Rotary branches and other service clubs, it lacks the society organizations found in some localities. Probably, the Latrobe Valley is too close to Melbourne for such organizations to develop locally. The GIAE Council is one of the most exclusive and prestigious of social organizations in the region.

During the period of field research, Council met once a month. Meetings would start at 5 p.m. and break at 6.30 or 7 p.m. for dinner, which the Institute provided. After dinner the Council meeting would resume, often to 11 p.m. or later. At the conclusion of the meeting, the inner circle of Council would sometimes retire to the Director's office for drinks. Dinner was also served with the meetings of council committees, though the food on these occasions was not of such high quality.

After each graduation ceremony, the Council holds a dinner for selected guests, both from within and without the Institute. The graduation dinners are lavish affairs, with speeches made by the Director and President, thanking members of Council for their hard work and contribution to the growth and development of the College. Council holds an annual Christmas dinner to which certain Institute officers are invited, such as the business manager, the accountant and the deans.

The social aspect of the Council can be useful and does not necessarily detract from its formal function. To varying degrees, probably all councils of higher education institutions have an associated social and club aspect. What needs to be recognized is that the social function of Council does have an effect on its policy-making role. As within any social group, members want to be accepted by their colleagues. It is one thing to argue strongly with a fellow Council member during a meeting, but quite another to sip wine with him over dinner. The result is that strong opposition or argumentation is seen as inappropriate or unsociable. Such events as the graduation ceremony dinner and Christmas dinner help to reinforce the attitude among Council members that they are pursuing the proper course. They are not only social gatherings, but rituals in which Council members renew their faith in the guidance which they have given to the Institute over the years.

External Council members, in general, share similar socio-economic positions within the social structure and, therefore, share many of the same social attitudes, values, and opinions. Council membership consists primarily of professional people with tertiary qualifications. Non-institute members of Council in February 1980 were: Mr C.H. Ford (President of Council, and a barrister and solicitor), Mr C.L. Hatsell (Deputy President of Council, and Manager, Latrobe Valley Water and Sewerage Board), Mr J.A.T. Beard (Principal, St Annes and Gippsland Grammar School), Professor D.G. Beswick (University of Melbourne), Mr R.C. Bigelow (Director, Development Dimensions International Pty Ltd), Mr L.A. Falk (Regional Director of Education), Mr R.M. Greenwood (Manager, Engineering Services, SEC), Mr D.R. Hannington (school principal), the Hon. D.E. Kent, (MLC and farmer), Mr B.W. King (member of the SEC), Mrs B. Lapin (JP), Fr J. O'Kelly (parish priest), Mr J.J. Robertson (retired SEC Engineer), Mr L.L. Shipp (Assistant Superintendent, Briquetting and Power Division, SEC), Mr D.W. Smith (radio station manager), Mr N. Thompson (secretarial officer, SEC), Mr G.A. Thomson (Personnel Superintendent, APM), Mr J.C. Vinall (shire councillor and farmer), and Mrs V.L. Willington (principal nurse educator). Members of the community at large, particularly those living in Central Gippsland, are predominantly working-class individuals, lacking in professional qualifications and tertiary education. With only two women on the Council, it can easily be seen that the membership is highly skewed towards male dominance.[11]

By selecting its membership from the professional class—particularly by selecting those with experience in commerce and industry—the Council is attempting both to live up to its charter as a CAE, and to use the skills, knowledge and expertise of one group of local citizens. While Council holds the ultimate power and authority in the College, the decisions which it makes reflect the attitudes, interests, background and past experiences of its membership, not those of the community as a whole.

Structure and Management in Terms of Ideal Type

The debate over structure within GIAE does not take place in a vacuum—it is both a product and reflection of the debate over structure which takes place in the whole of the CAE system. To appreciate this connection, we need to differentiate the normative from the analytical statements on college structures, and understand the ideological content implicit in much of the debate. That is, we need to make a distinction between what various groups believe should be accomplished in the colleges and what has actually been achieved. For example, in 1976 when Hopper wrote the following words on the GIAE structure, he was, in part, expressing the ideal type of structure which the architects of the CAE system hoped would be implemented:

> The Commission's Fourth Report made it very clear that the Council determines the policy of the college . . . It is also made very clear that all staff are appointed to implement the policies of the college council . . . So long as the council is held responsible for college policy and is required to operate within the external constraints imposed upon it, the Council cannot accept advice from staff which ignores these constraints. Equally, the council cannot be expected to adopt policies designed to serve the immediate needs of staff if such policies conflict with the wider needs of the community at large . . .
> Since by design, colleges are required to meet the needs of society for skilled manpower, changes in colleges in general must be a response to changing circumstances external to the colleges and are frequently imposed by outside authorities.[12]

From the very beginning, college councils were told to be responsive to the needs of commerce and industry, not to reproduce the 'ivory tower scholasticism' of the universities, and not to lose sight of their technological character. At the same time the colleges had to compete with the universities for students, staff, courses, funds and prestige. At colleges like GIAE, the student numbers—and thus the funds for survival—were to be found at degree level in the non-technological subjects. The VIC required that, before a college could offer a degree, it had to upgrade both the quality of staff and academic facilities (such as library holdings). Many of the CAEs began with a body of staff previously employed by the Victorian Education Department. In general, they were people who lacked higher academic qualifications and had been socialized into a system where staff responded to directives given from above.[13] But new recruits to GIAE not only held higher degrees, they also had values and attitudes which ran counter to those held by both the old guard and some Council members. Many of these new staff members believed that the purpose of the college went far beyond utilitarian educational goals and the immediate interests of local industry. They, like their colleagues in many other institutions, questioned official prescriptions on the nature and role of CAEs.

This train of events quite naturally produced a situation where groups would be in conflict over such basic factors as institutional management and educational goals. But the better thought-out critiques of the CAE system have not merely advocated the reproduction of university forms of organization within the colleges. Rather, the intention has been to argue for a certain type of educational style and climate, as Short (1970) makes clear:

> While the colleges of advanced education are enjoined to resist the temptation to copy the educational processes and curricula of universities . . . in so far as such an injunction has any significant meaning, they are denied something of value which would not restrict their freedom to experiment. The falsely based 'difference' must surely hamper desirable development. Already the major institutions have staff structures and academic salaries, courses and awards which are equivalent to or identical with those of the universities. There would seem to be advantage in recognizing that what the university has to offer is essentially an idea of the conditions which are most favourable to the development of 'intellect' . . .
>
> This leads me to the conclusion that the search for a fundamental difference between the university and the college of advanced technology is of the nature of a unicorn hunt. (pp.23–4)

The architects of academic structure, both within and without GIAE, have failed to appreciate that autonomous education institutions are ultimately normative institutions. While this does not mean that the behaviour of organizational members is determined by internalized sets of norms and values, structures need to take account of the basic normative prescriptions of this type of organization. Moreover, academic structures and the processes which they embody need to be seen as models which are never conformed to in all of their detail. The academic process is often too diffuse, cumbersome and ill-defined to be employed on every occasion that a sensitive decision has to be made, particularly if the decision has to be made in a short period of time. However, blatant violation or denial of academic norms sets in motion a severe form of internal conflict of an ideological form (in the narrow sense of the word). The dispute is then between world views, not over issues where the groups involved can trade among themselves their respective wins and losses. It is a dispute which cannot be resolved through normal procedures of negotiation and bargaining—only through a 'palace coup' at the least, and a full-scale revolution at the extreme. If no one group has the resources to dominate the others completely, the likely outcome is a long-term process of institutional guerilla warfare.

To some extent, the conflict over structure at GIAE is of an ideological nature. The problem with the hierarchical bureaucratic structure, with its emphasis upon delegation of authority through the Director, 'cabinet government', and staff allegiance to Council policies, is that it is not consonant with the basic norms and values held by many academic staff, and this has led to a defensive response to criticism.

Most of the research on academic and other professional organizations show that participation in decision making is one of the basic institutional norms, and that, paradoxically, the greater the attempt to limit participation, the more important the participatory norm becomes (Cohen and March, 1974, p.120–3). While the right of participation is important, research also shows that few organizational members wish to engage in the day-to-day decision-making process (see Baldridge, 1980). Those who do choose to participate are the ones who are more politically active within the organization and who have the time and inclination to sit upon the multitude of committees. Cohen and March (1974, p.121) hypothesize that 'most people in a college are most of the time less concerned with the content of a decision than they are with eliciting an acknowledgment of their importance within the community'. People are more inclined to insist on their right to participate in decision making 'than they are on exercising that right'. 'The argument is over the symbols of governance. Who has the right to claim power?' It is this argument which forms the basis of much of the political activity within colleges and universities.

GIAE's Director, while stressing that there is 'an obligation on all staff to accept Council's final decision', criticizes the 'political approach' to academic decision making:

> Internal politics of the less desirable type are disastrous in any institution and pernicious in a small college. I refer to the political approach in which an individual secures sufficient personal support to effectively control the decision of key boards and committees.[14]

But political activity in higher education institutions cannot be stifled by decree. Such organizations are complex and heterogeneous, split by various factions and interest groups. Baldridge (1971a) has shown that decision making in colleges and universities is a complex political process of interest articulation ITEK policy decisions ITEK execution ITEK generation of new conflicts (pp.19–26). He notes that the introduction of any new policy or innovation in an academic community will inevitably 'step on toes', invade traditional domains, upset powerful people, and conflict with vested interests' (p.125). In such organizations 'nobody worth their salt can be completely free of political involvement' (p.130). He also notes that, in order to influence decisions, it is essential to understand the political process:

> . . . academic decision processes are complex. They are not simple hierarchies like the processes in most business firms or government agencies. Administrators do not dominate the decision process. Instead, there is a complex process of decision by committee. Conflict is quite common between competing interest groups. (p.126)

An attempt to exclude the political process from higher education institutions through structure is to assume a false model of how the organization really works. No dynamic, complex, heterogeneous collection of groups and individuals is going to demonstrate complete consensus and loyalty to major institutional policies. Those who lose one round of the decision-making game will attempt to recoup their losses in the next round. And the political process is not necessarily deleterious to the educational function of the organization. All complex, heterogeneous organizations demonstrate some degree of conflict, and the process of political bargaining allows the conflict to be contained within manageable limits. In fact, if too much energy is devoted to an attempt to limit and deny political activity, the very processes which may contain and resolve conflict, are not allowed to develop. An attempt to find consensus, stability, unity, and loyalty in a dynamic, complex and diverse collection of individuals can only lead to bitter personal disappointment. Cohen and March (1974) indicate that leaders of higher education institutions can do little more than attempt to keep the political collectivity afloat, while at the same time influencing the political process from their special vantage point.

It should be noted that in presenting the debate over management paradigms in terms of their ideal type, the matter may seem more clear-cut and polarized than it is. For example, traditional academic norms and values are not held equally in all types of institutions. Such values are probably more extensively accepted, and thus less open to challenge, in a major research university than in a small college. At GIAE, all staff would not have an equal affinity with traditional academic culture. On the other hand, many Council members and Institute leaders, in accepting some aspects of the hierarchical bureaucratic model, are not merely attempting to maintain control of decision making. In the colleges, particularly in the smaller ones, there is a problem of potential dominance by mediocrity and self-serving industrial pursuits. This problem is exacerbated by the lack of an extensive group of well-experienced academic and administrative leaders at the middle-management level. Nevertheless, much of the conflict within GIAE has been of a normative nature, and there has been a partial tendency for groups to polarize around two ideal models of decision making, while simultaneously being overly resentful of the political aspects of day-to-day organizational life. Moreover, the lack of an entrenched academic model has helped to confuse the industrial with the academic interests of staff. It is no coincidence that many of the major proposals for academic change within GIAE have come from the staff association, not from the Academic Board. Possibly, within all professional organizations, the professional community, when feeling frustrated in advancing their professional interests through the mainline structure, will seek other avenues for doing so.

The Administrative Branch

The discussion which took place at Council in early 1976 on autonomy and accountability did little to resolve the Institute's basic structural problems. Approximately one year later the staff association was again complaining about persistent structural change in the absence of general consultation. The following motion was passed by the staff association in April 1977 and presented to Council:

> The Staff Association is concerned at the lack of emphasis being given to teaching within the Institute and that constant change is one of the main causes of this. As a consequence, we ask for full consultation before any more major academic changes are made.[15]

On this occasion, the structural change did not directly involve the academic committee system. Rather, it was to do with the coordination and administration of external studies and other administrative services within the organization. Towards the end of 1976 and in the first half of 1977, changes were implemented which would effectively abolish the position of registrar (and the registry as a distinct branch in the organization), and consolidate the academic secretariate, student records, and academic and student services under the Educational Services Division. The printery would be moved from the Deputy-Principal's division to ESD and a new position, Assistant to Director, (to be filled for a set period of time by a person on secondment from the teaching staff) would be established. Once again, changes were presented to Council via the Staffing Committee—though discussions of the proposals took place at the Management Board. In proposing the position of Assistant to Director, it was recommended that Mr Gerry Smart, Principal Lecturer in Mathematics, fill the position.[16]

The fact that the Institute is heavily committed to external studies has significantly influenced the way in which academic and student services have been administered and organized. External teaching requires a different approach from that of the traditional lecture/tutorial system. For example, more effort is required in the preparation of study guides and other reading material. There is a large administrative problem in co-ordinating the mailing of study materials, receiving assignments, scheduling weekend schools and examinations, keeping track of student progress, and so on, for a large group of students living throughout eastern Victoria and the metropolitan region. Because of the interdependence of co-ordinating external studies, the production of written and audio-visual materials, and the administration of student records, timetabling, examinations, etc., it was a logical step to bring the three branches—the registry, external studies and materials production under the umbrella of one division.

Similar to any other major organizational change, this one was neither interpreted nor motivated by purely rational criteria. The change was as much to do with organizational power as with rationalizing functions. Heads of divisions within organizations rarely like to give up part of their function to another division. To do so limits their power and influence within the organization. At GIAE there are three figures below the level of Director who wield the most power and influence in the administration of the Institute: the Deputy Principal, Head of ESD, and the Assistant to Director. Over the years there has been a shuffling of functions between divisions, and a degree of animosity between the various heads. For instance, the Deputy Principal resented having to give up the printery to the Head of ESD. This move was made in 1977 when it became clear that the Institute's survival was going to depend, in part, on a viable external studies program. Though the Victorian Government, the VIC, and the Commission on Advanced Education had all expressed support for the offering of external studies at GIAE, the Victorian Post-Secondary Education Committee of Inquiry (the Partridge Commission) was charged with examining possible avenues for rationalizing external courses between GIAE and Deakin University. The importance of external studies, coupled with the external threat with regard to the role of Deakin University in this area, placed the Head of ESD in a position to advance very strong arguments to achieve his desired ends.

Salanick and Pfeffer (1977), through the use of what they call 'strategic-contingency' theory, show that the power of an administrative division within an organization is a complex interplay between internal politics and environmental influences.

> Power . . . accrues to organizational subunits (individuals, departments) that cope with critical organizational problems. Power is used by subunits, indeed used by all who have it, to enhance their own survival through control of scarce critical resources, through the placement of allies in key positions, and through the definition of organizational problems and policies. Because of the processes by which power develops and is used, organizations become both more aligned and more misaligned with their environments. This contradiction is the most interesting aspect of organizational power. (p.4)

Often a division or department is able to gain power when its function serves the organization in relation to specific environmental pressures. For example, if funding from outside bodies is dependent on the enrolment of more students, and the primary source of students is in the external mode, then that division which manages external studies is quite likely to be in a position to wield a great deal of power and influence within the organization. Once a division obtains a significant degree of power, it is, generally, reluctant to give it up, even if environmental influences and pressures change. Herein lies one of the major sources of institutional conflict.

Salanick and Pfeffer believe that the health of an organization is dependent upon matching internal power structures with the major problems and pressures arising from the external environment. Since the environment is dynamic and changing, there will always be the necessity to shift and re-align internal power structures. The problem becomes: Who is to define the major environmental problems and how are organizational members to evaluate the definitions provided? Throughout its history the Institute has confronted this problem. Moreover, since there is no single authoritative external source for information about the major problems and pressures which shape the role, structure, and purpose of the CAE system, it is not surprising to discover that the internal representation of the external dangers is itself usually a matter for interpretation and dispute. As Pettigrew (1973) observes, 'If a group is lacking in basic consensus, the selective application of outside pressures is likely to add to those divergencies'. (p.228)

Currently, the Institute is re-evaluating its major role and function. One view is that the role of external studies is no longer as important as it was, particularly in the light of the fact that a high proportion of external students are enrolled for arts type courses. Supporters of this belief cite the 1981 TEC report which again reinforced the commitment to a vocational philosophy for the CAEs, and recommended a transfer of student enrolments from teacher education to business and technology subjects. During the period of field research, VPSEC was reviewing the offering of external studies courses in Victoria, with a view to rationalizing courses between Deakin University and the CAEs. But the TEC and the Advanced Education Council have maintained their policy that the regional colleges should have a broader mandate and offer liberal type studies. Furthermore, the Victorian Minister of Education has publicly reiterated the statement that GIAE will continue to play a primary role in the offering of external studies in Victoria. Undoubtedly, the Institute will continue to interpret the environment as precarious and possibly hostile to its future, and react accordingly.

Another external consideration has led to a further shift of functions among the administrative branches. Because of the recent importance of budgetary considerations, and the fact that funding guidelines set by external authorities were in a state of flux, the Business Manager's Office in the Deputy Principal's division has increased its power in influencing Institute policy. For several years, the formal role of the Assistant to Director had been unclear. He had always been in a position to formulate the Institute's submission to outside bodies and to advise and assist the Director in the administration of GIAE. During 1980 the Assistant to Director, Mr Gerry Smart, was one of the instrumental figures in top-level discussions on the future role and direction of the Institute. In early 1981 the Director recommended to Council that Smart be confirmed in the position in a permanent capacity, and that the title of the position be changed to Assistant Director. These new arrangements significantly increased Smart's responsibilities and formal power within the organization. The Head of ESD is now responsible to the Assistant Director, and the number of individuals reporting directly to Hopper have been reduced to the three deans, Deputy Principal and the Assistant Director (see Figure 2).

Given their reading of the prevailing climate, Institute leaders are attempting to shift the emphasis to the technological courses in

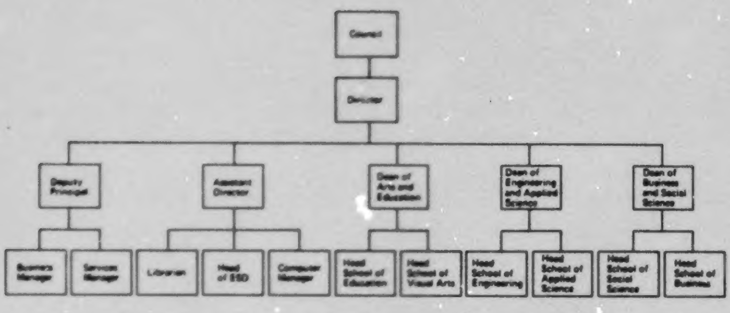
Council
Director
Deputy Principal
Assistant Director
Dean of Arts and Education
Dean of Engineering and Applied Science
Dean of Business and Social Science
Business Manager
Services Manager
Librarian
Head of ESD
Computer Manager
Head School of Education
Head School of Visual Arts
Head School of Engineering
Head School of Applied Science
Head School of Social Science
Head School of Business

Figure 2 GIAE Authority Structure, 1981

engineering and applied science. This requires not only the redirection of resources, but a shift in the Institute's power structure. To a degree, Institute leaders are able to re-align the power structure. But the process is never complete, and those who obtained power in the past are not willing to give it up easily. In an analytical sense, the current discussion over the Institute's direction will, by necessity, involve a significant amount of conflict between some segments of the administration, those involved in the administration of external studies and, on the academic side, staff involved in teaching non-technological courses. Organizational administrators are always faced with the uneasy task of assessing whether the end result of major change is worth the conflict which the process will generate.

Conflict Between Council And Academic Staff

So far in the discussion of structural conflict within GIAE, a gross line of cleavage has been drawn between the senior administration and academic staff. Neither branch of the college should be viewed as a homogeneous, cohesive group; those groups and individuals who are in conflict shift as the issues change. As with other organizations, this process helps to 'sew the organization together' and limits the degree to which conflict can polarize the institution (see Coser, 1956). Unfortunately, this form of conflict at GIAE is not as fluid as it is in some institutions. Other factors, as previously noted, do force a degree of polarization which is unhealthy for the organization itself.

Between 1977 and 1980 the relations between the administration/Council and the academic staff—particularly those in the non-

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technological areas—severely deteriorated. The situation was accelerated by several contingent factors, some of which have already been mentioned. The higher education sector throughout Australia was being progressively squeezed, financially, through government policies. This increased the competition between and within institutions over scarce resources. With increasing financial stringency, staff associations and individual staff thought the concept of tenure for academic staff was being threatened. More and more staff throughout the system were to be employed on limited term contracts, placing a whole class of academics—primarily young people starting their careers—in an uncertain position. Institutions have had to consider seriously the possible need for staff redundancy and the dismissal of large slices from their academic staff establishments. This siege mentality can lead institutional leaders to view critical staff as disloyal and in turn can strain internal relationships within individual institutions, and help to politicise academic staff.

The Morgan Affair

The event which had the most immediate and direct effect on interrelationships at GIAE was the publication of an article entitled 'Why 9 out of 10 want to be academics', by Patrick Morgan, a lecturer in English in the School of Business and Social Sciences. The article appeared in the July 1977 issue of *Quadrant*. It needs to be stressed that the article would not have taken on the significance which it did if it were not for the other environmental pressures. GIAE was in a precarious position with regard to engineering and external studies, and had only made its submission to the Partridge Committee in April 1977. The last thing Institute leaders wanted at that time was public criticism of the organization—which Morgan's article provided in some depth. Morgan's article was a catalyst, rather than a prime factor, which allowed the various tensions and pressures within the Institute to come to a head. 'Existing cleavages', as Pettigrew (1973) notes, 'play a primary part in predisposing a group to action' (p.227).

Morgan had been a disenchanted member of staff for a number of years. He was a vocal critic during the B.A. conflict, and in February 1975 he wrote an article in the student paper *Aasvogel*, 'Suddenly last summer—rise and fall of the Gippsland B.A.'. He had also been critical of the Institute in other articles, 'Is carpentry the only productive enterprise at the GIAE?' (*Aasvogel*, May 1977) and 'The thick end of the wedge', a mimeographed paper distributed among staff. With the change in the academic committee system in early 1975, Morgan had lost his seat on the Academic Board. Up to the end of 1976, he had been the Co-ordinator of Core Studies (compulsory inter-disciplinary subjects). Changes were implemented which abolished the Core Studies Committee, and thus Morgan's position as Co-ordinator.

At the Federated Staff Associations of Australian Colleges of Advanced Education Conference held at the Darling Downs Institute of Advanced Education in May 1977, Morgan presented a paper entitled 'Higher education in Australian society: The confusions of the new estate'. His article was highly critical of the whole of the advanced education sector, and he drew heavily upon examples from GIAE to make his general points.

During that period, 'education bashing' had become a regular pastime for the popular media, particularly for national journals such as *The Bulletin*. Morgan's *Quadrant* article was used extensively in an article by *The Bulletin*: 'Education: Plundering the public purse' (18 June 1977). Back in his home institution, Morgan found himself to be a very unpopular person.

The Council chose to mount an inquiry into the affair to see if legal or disciplinary action by the Institute was appropriate. The Academic Board itself noted the severity of the situation. It is worthwhile to quote the Board's resolution on the matter, for it indicates that a proportion of the academic community initially supported the Council and Director. Later on, this support was withdrawn, for the conflict changed from directly involving Morgan's articles to primary academic norms and values. In September 1977 the Board was willing to state:

> The Academic Board is aware of the serious implications of a staff member appointed to implement the policies of Council and who has, or has not, taken opportunities available to him to contribute to the development of Council policy and who chooses to go outside the due processes for the development of academic policy and beyond Council itself, to advocate views fundamentally opposed to those expressed by the Council and the Academic Board. The Academic board accordingly gives its full support to the Council.[17]

The Board went on to confirm the loyalty of academic staff to the Institute.

Council pursued its inquiry into the affair, and Morgan requested the Victorian Colleges Staff Association to act on his behalf. At this time, Morgan was about to go on study leave, and had already received $2300 from the Institute for this purpose. Council directed Morgan to remain at the Institute and asked him to return the money advanced to him. In retrospect, it is easy to see that a conflict over fundamental academic norms—freedom of speech and publication, critical inquiry, freedom to express contradictory points of view without fear of suppression, etc.—was being shaped. As the Council inquiry proceeded, the staff association became worried about the academic freedom issue, and Council received a letter signed by 26 members of the School of Business and Social Sciences regarding Morgan's study leave:

> We should be most grateful if you would tell us the reasons for the withdrawal of Mr Morgan's leave as we understand that it had already been approved some months ago and a payment for expenses made. We would be surprised to find that it had been cancelled at this late stage due to a technical fault in the contract. Equally, we feel that it is not an appropriate response to Mr Morgan's article in *Quadrant* to cancel his staff development leave.[18]

In November 1977 Council concluded its deliberations on the matter and resolved 'that a letter of censure from Council be sent to Mr Morgan and that no disciplinary action against Mr Morgan be taken on this matter.' Council resolved at the end of 1977 no longer to receive representation directly from individual members of staff or from the staff association.

Thus, without a great deal of internal conflict, the matter came to an end—or so it seemed. In 1979 Morgan again requested study leave from Council. Individual applications for leave are referred to Council through the Director. In mid-1979 Hopper was on leave, and the Dean of Engineering and Applied Science, Mr Neil Terrill, was appointed Acting Director for the period of his absence. Therefore, Morgan's application was referred to Council for approval through Terrill. Terrill suggested alterations to Morgan's program and then recommended its approval to Council. At its June meeting Council approved Morgan's application.

Hopper returned to the Institute in the second half of 1979 and became involved in the issue of Morgan's study leave (what was now officially termed 'Professional Experience Programme'). Hopper expressed two formal points of view: that Morgan was still under censure by Council, and that the TEC was laying down much more stringent requirements for study leave and, thus, Council had to satisfy itself that all proposals were thoroughly documented and evaluated before being approved. The Director argued that Council's previous approval of Morgan's leave had been in principle only and that more detail would be required before actually allowing Morgan to proceed on leave.[19] Council empowered the Director to obtain such detail. Morgan hoped to spend his study leave in the United Kingdom, but later the Director suggested that Morgan design a program which would allow him to remain in Australia.

The issue rapidly fragmented and polarized the Institute. The staff association, which was now dominated primarily by staff teaching in non-technological subjects, took up the issue on Morgan's behalf. The President of the staff association wrote to Council:

> Council's timing and approach in this matter leads to the inescapable conclusion that it is using procedural devices to harass an individual staff member . . . This is perhaps the most serious charge to which a publicly appointed and publicly responsible body such as Council can lay itself open.[20]

The issue of academic freedom, and the belief that Council and the Director were persecuting a member of staff because of what he had published in the past, unified many members of academic staff against Council, in general, and the Director, in particular.

With regard to academic staff and the staff association, there were two primary issues involved, both of a normative nature. First, a segment of staff genuinely believed that Morgan's academic freedom was being violated, and they saw the issue only in those terms. Second, others, while either believing in or paying lip-service to the norm of academic freedom, had long-standing grudges against the Director. Over the years, some people had lost in the power struggles; they had been passed over for promotion or had become generally alienated from the Institute. Some saw this as their chance to seek revenge, but they could do so only within the normative framework which was attached to the issue itself. This point cannot be stressed too strongly. Policies are formulated within the context of power struggle and political bargaining. The political dynamics of an academic institution are defined and limited by the reference of participants to institutional norms. Institutional members do not necessarily have to believe in the norms, but they must have a knowledge of the basic normative prescriptions in order to function effectively within the organization.

The Morgan case is also a classic example of the garbage-can effect in academic decision making (see Baldridge, 1980; Cohen & March, 1974). What may seem initially a straightforward problem is soon associated with a variety of other issues which may take on more significance than the original problem. The Morgan case was not just about the granting of study leave, but involved academic freedom, the proper management of the Institute, institutional loyalty and so on. It is often difficult for administrators to sort out the variety of issues in the can and decide which is the most important or significant.

In some respects, the history of GIAE and the behaviour of members fits Gouldner's (1958) theory of 'cosmopolitans' and 'locals'. It is a theory which helps us to understand varying aspects of institutional loyalty, and many of the internal conflicts at GIAE—particularly the Morgan case—have involved the loyalty issue.

Gouldner argues that Weber's theory of bureaucracy tended to overlook the dynamics of institutional loyalty. Weber assumed that the more expertise within an organization—i.e. the more people with formal 'scientific' skills and qualifications—the more rational and efficient it would be. Gouldner, however, drawing on the earlier writings of Saint-Simon, believes that expertise and scientific knowledge within the organization cut across institutional loyalty, and the highly skilled and qualified expert can be dysfunctional in terms of organizational unity and cohesion. Some experts are more prone to attach sentiments of loyalty to the national and international aspects of their profession, rather than to the institutional bureaucracy. They are less likely to accept organizational rules or judgments from organizational members, or participate in day-to-day management, than are other members. These are the 'cosmopolitans' who, in academic institutions, hold the higher degrees, do the most publishing, place more emphasis on research than teaching, and would readily leave the institution for professional advancement.[21] Their behaviour is substantially different from the 'company man' or 'local', who attaches strong sentiments of loyalty to the organization's bureaucracy.

There is, according to Gouldner (1958), 'some tension between an organization's bureaucratic needs for expertise and its social-system needs for loyalty'. He notes that the greater the pressure from the environment, the more bureaucratic need there is for loyalty:

> The inhibition of expertise by loyalty considerations is a variable, changing with the extent of the threat, real or perceived, to which the organization is exposed. Organizations presumably place less stress on loyalty when their mood is one of self-confidence and security, and when they are on the rise *vis-a-vis* their competitors. They seem likely to concern themselves less with the expertise of their personnel, and to give smaller rewards for efficiency and skill, when they feel themselves challenged and when they face rising antagonists. In short, as Saint-Simon long ago suggested, the full development of modern patterns of administration, with their characteristic stress on expertise and scientific knowledge, appears to be contingent on the decline of conflict. (p.466)

The tension between cosmopolitan and local, and the bureaucracy's need to shift between professional expertise and institutional loyalty, is clearly a feature of GIAE's history and development. The Institute started with a group of staff which were, by and large, locals, but organizational leaders believed that growth and development lay with recruiting a large number of 'cosmopolitan' academics. The cosmopolitans had higher degrees, and some had lengthy lists of scholarly publications and high academic reputations. With rising outside pressures, the Institute stressed the value of institutional loyalty and looked to its locals for this sentiment. The locals and those who stressed loyalty have resented the cosmopolitans for lack of this sentiment. The tension at GIAE has been compounded by the fact that, because of the current financial situation, the cosmopolitan academic has been less professionally mobile than one would generally expect. Some of the Institute's best qualified and academically respected staff have left for better jobs elsewhere. For example, by the beginning of 1979, all three of the Institute's foundation deans had departed. But many of those who demonstrate cosmopolitan behaviour—i.e., give more allegiance to the norms and values of their profession than to the institution itself—have remained at GIAE because of the restricted opportunities in the national job market.

The cosmopolitan/local distinction at GIAE takes on more predictive power when it is coupled with other distinguishing features of the internal social system. The academic staff, like the administration, is not one united homogeneous group. There is some conflict among staff in the various schools. There is the historical aspect, involving the B.A. degree, which has produced some tension between the staff in the School of Education and those in Business and Social Sciences. In terms of the internal social system, both the staff and students of the School of Visual Arts stand apart from the rest of the Institute, and the staff in Engineering and Applied Science are more likely to interact with others in their respective areas than between the two disciplines. None the less, the major line of cleavage among academic staff is between those who teach in technological and non-technological areas.

There are staff in all schools who could be classified as locals, but it is the technologies which have the highest concentration of people with local behavioural attributes. One factor which Gouldner states as being indicative of organizational loyaltv and dedication is the length of service people are willing to devote to the institution. Among the GIAE academic staff it is those who teach in the School of

Table 3 Length of Service of GIAE 1980 Academic Staff

Year of Appointment	School of Business and Social Science	School of Education	Schools of Engineering, Applied Science	School of Visual Arts	Total
1970*	2		15		17
1971–72	5		2	3	10
1973–74	5	3	4		12
1975–76	8	3	4		15
1977–78	7	6	2	3	18
1979+	14	4		7	25
	41	16	27	13	97

* 1970 or earlier.

Source: Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education, *Handbook*, 1980.

Engineering and Applied Science who, in relation to other schools, have been with the Institute the longest.

Because of the age of the Institute and because some schools started operation much later than others, a comparison of length of service across the various schools is not strictly valid. As a rough indicator, it is interesting to note how the schools differ in terms of the length of time staff have devoted to the Institute (see Table 3).

Of the 26 academic staff listed in the Institute's 1970 Handbook, four taught courses in business or humanities, three taught courses in mathematics, and nineteen staff taught courses in engineering or applied science. Eighteen of these original members were listed in the 1980 GIAE Handbook, fifteen of whom were teaching courses in engineering and applied science and two who were teaching courses in the School of Business and Social Sciences. One staff member transferred from teaching mathematics to become Assistant to Director. Of those staff listed in the 1980 Handbook, 39 had joined the Institute in 1974 or earlier, and 21 of these members were in Engineering or Applied Science. Until recently, there has been little turnover of academic staff in the School of Engineering and Applied Science.

Those staff who supported Morgan in his fight for study leave were primarily the cosmopolitans in the non-technological schools, though some staff in these schools, such as the Head of Visual Arts, were seen as the Director's allies. Staff with 'anti-Morgan' and, to an extent, 'anti-staff association' attitudes were concentrated in the School of Engineering and Applied Science. Many of these people were not so much supporters of the Council's and the Director's stance over the issue, as they were resentful of the bad image which the dispute was giving the Institute in the local community. Many of the staff thought that those who supported Morgan were trying to destroy the Institute.

Throughout late 1979 and early 1980, the conflict over Morgan's study leave became more and more heated. The staff association asked VICSAC to intercede in the dispute, and an advertisement was placed in national newspapers informing prospective job applicants that the Institute was experiencing an industrial dispute, and urging people to contact VICSAC before applying. The conflict also received publicity through articles in both the local and national press, including *Australian Penthouse*. Internal relations were severely strained, with some members of staff refusing to talk to each other.

The Latrobe Valley is a small community, and thus there is a high degree of visibility between the Institute and the local population. The local press and TV station publicized the conflict, and staff members found that they were occupied in discussing and arguing the Morgan case both within and without the walls of the Institute. For some, the affair became an obsession, and it was not a conflict they could leave behind once they left the Institute after the day's work.

In 1979 the President of the GIAE staff association was Mr Peter Harwood, Principal Lecturer and Head of Division in Social Sciences. The Dean of Business and Social Sciences had resigned in late 1978, and Harwood and another principal lecturer jointly shared the responsibilities of Acting Dean until the position was filled at the end of 1979. This put Harwood in a difficult position. He had both to lead the staff association's campaign on behalf of Morgan and to provide administrative and academic leadership to the School.

The dispute also put the Director in a difficult position. For nearly a decade, Hopper had devoted his life to building an institution under very adverse external circumstances. He was in the position where he had to sell the Institute to the community and to external funding and co-ordinating authorities. The adverse publicity which the Morgan affair was giving the Institute could be seen as undermining the Director's credibility with outside bodies. Quite naturally, Hopper and some members of Council came to see the Morgan case in terms of institutional loyalty. The activities of the staff were seen as a challenge to the authority of Council and the Director's own personal authority. On several occasions the Director stated that staff had to decide whether to be a professional body or an industrial union.

Both the staff in general and the staff association in particular saw that the dispute was not just about Morgan's study leave, but concerned the very management of the Institute. The staff and student representatives on Council put a motion to Council in November 1979, asking that 'Council enter into meaningful negotiations with the staff association regarding the management of the Institute'. The staff representative, in speaking to the motion, stated that 'one of the main concerns among academic staff is that Council does not fully understand their opinions on matters which affect the academic staff'. In discussion, the Director referred to the differentiation between policy formulation and implementation. With regard to policy implementation, he commented:

> Council must look at accountability of staff. This takes place through the staff being accountable to their Head of Division and through the Head of Division to the Dean, the Director and Council rather than through the Staff Association to Council.[22]

It was difficult for people on both sides of the dispute to dissociate the role of the staff association from that of staff in general. At times it was impossible to tell where staff involvement in the issue as professional members ended and their interest as union members began. In November 1979, the Director wrote to Harwood:

> It is inconceivable to me that any Head of Division could contemplate encouraging or supporting an application for study leave from a staff member subject to Council censure without prior consultation with the Director . . .
> Your subsequent role in this matter as President of the Staff Association, as you will appreciate, has left you open to the very grave suspicion that your decisions as Head of Division were deliberately taken in order to create a situation which the Staff Association used as an excuse for an inept, childish and futile trial of strength with the Council. In any case, you are entitled to know that a number of Council members have expressed to me their very grave concern, even incredulity, that a senior member of staff with management responsibilities, who by virtue of his position is required to give his *unqualified support and loyalty to the Director and Council in the implemention of their decisions*, should concurrently assume, in some capacity, a leading role in a totally irresponsible campaign to challenge the authority of the Director and Council and bring discredit on the Institute.[23] (emphasis provided)

The situation became extremely confusing, both with regard to the role academic staff were actually playing and the one the Director perceived that they were playing. Because of high emotions, communication between the Director and staff was almost impossible. The Director stated that staff were confusing their professional roles with their positions as employees (in an industrial sense), and that they were behaving childishly and foolishly. The academic staff, through both the staff association and the various academic boards and committees, were critical of the management of the College and the relationship between staff and Council, and they pressed for greater staff involvement in decision making and policy formation.

The adverse publicity which the Institute received through the Morgan affair put a great deal of pressure on the Council to resolve the dispute. The President of Council was put in a particularly difficult position. Over the years he had worked very closely with the Director, and was also Hopper's personal friend. But he had also to find some solution to the dispute. By this stage, the new Dean of Business and Social Sciences, Mr Kevin Hince, had taken up duty. Hince, who had worked at the University of Melbourne for a number of years, had extensive experience in industrial relations. At the request of Council, he was instrumental in working out a compromise with Morgan.

Eventually, Morgan re-wrote his study leave proposal and Council approved his leave in March 1980. Later in the year Morgan flew to London. Even though Morgan was granted study leave, internal relationships remained tense and the Director had to look other than to the staff in the School of Business and Social Sciences (except for the new Dean) and the staff association for institutional loyalty.

There was a feeling of resentment among some members of the organization that the staff association publicized the Morgan case, and a feeling of incredulity that the association would go public over an issue like study leave. In the latter half of the 1970s, the national press had been criticizing academics for their 'perks' and benefits not available to the general population. Study leave was often used as an example of academics' 'soft life'. Some members of GIAE believed that the staff were fighting an unpopular issue and attempting to destroy themselves.

However, the publicity given to the Morgan affair is readily understandable when the normative nature of the institution and the distinction between cosmopolitan/local staff is taken into account. The norms to which academics voice public allegiance (e.g. academic freedom) are not set within individual institutions; rather, they are national and international in character. Thus, it was quite logical that the staff association publicized the dispute. The association believed that basic academic norms and values had been transgressed and, in a sense, VICSAC's statement with regard to the dispute in the job column of national newspapers was an appeal to the national fraternity of academic staff for support and judgment.

The cosmopolitan academic, as previously observed, gives more allegiance to the intellectual corpus of knowledge and the normative prescriptions of his profession than to the institution itself. He is 'orientated toward an outer reference group' (Gouldner, 1958, p.450). The staff association was dominated by cosmopolitans and it is not surprising that members were prone to appeal to an outer reference group during the dispute. However, it must be stressed that an appeal to norms does not necessarily legitimate institutional behaviour; norms can be manipulated as well as defended. As mentioned, academic norms can themselves be an important aspect of the power structure, and can be used as weapons in a dispute. Moreover, it is often the case that effective use of power depends, in part, on actors' knowledge of basic organizational norms.

The Director's Executive Committee

During the period of field research, the basic academic and other decisions were not made by the Academic Board or the Management Board. Rather, it was the Director's Executive Committee where decisions were made and policy formulated—which is, in a sense, paradoxical, for the Executive Committee did not have the formal power to perform either of these functions. The Executive Committee consisted of the Director, Deputy Principal, Dean of Engineering, Dean of Business and Applied Science, Business Manager, Assistant to Director, and, depending on the agenda, either the Acting Dean of Education or the Head of Visual Arts. The Committee had no standing under formal regulations; it functioned more as a cabinet than an academic committee. The Executive considered such basic issues as student quotas in each school, staffing levels in schools and divisions, academic structure and regulations, finance, the role and position of tutors and limited term staff, the future direction of the Institute, and the possible need to transfer resources from one teaching area to another.

While the decisions reached by the Executive did not have any formal standing in themselves, they were the essential decisions of the Institute. The Director referred the decisions of the Executive to Council or its committees for formal approval and ratification. Increasingly throughout the period of field research, the decisions of committees, including the Academic Board, were delayed or postponed because it was stated that the Executive Committee was (or was about to) consider the matter under discussion. The Executive's discussions on sensitive matters were kept confidential until a decision was reached. The Executive kept limited minutes of its meetings and produced abbreviated agenda. The minutes and agenda were only for the members of the Executive; they were not generally circulated or presented to other committees for ratification. In a functional sense, the Executive was a cabinet; in a strict formal committee sense, it was only a group of senior staff who congregated, sometimes two or three times a week, in the Director's office.

Some staff members complained that the Executive Committee was too secretive in its deliberations, and that the Committee weakened and sometimes usurped the duly constituted power and responsibility of the formal academic committee system. In reply to such criticism, members of the Executive Committee noted that no restrictions can ever be placed on the Director to meet with his senior staff as he wishes. One member of the Executive, paraphrasing Adam Smith, noted that the senior management of an organization can either meet in the seclusion of the local inn or do so openly.[24]

One of the basic tasks of the Executive Committee was to discuss and define the future directions of the Institute. But the Committee was never intended to be a democratic forum. There was some opinion that the process of academic decision making had too severely restricted the roles of the deans in the past. The Committee was to be a forum where the Institute's senior officers, through discussion, could come to a consensus on the basic needs and priorities of the Institute. The value of consensus was emphasized to the extent that a vote was never taken on any issue. The Executive Committee was intended to allow simultaneously the deans and other selected senior officers to have an input on policy formation and to restrict the degree to which group interest and academic politics could influence decision making.

'Consensus' is not the proper term to describe the activities of the Executive Committee. For a group of people with diverse and often divergent interests to reach true consensus, the issue has to be so vague and general that it is meaningless in its content. Members of the Executive operated in an atmosphere of supposed consensus. Usually that meant that the members generally agreed with the Director's proposal, and so gave it the status of a committee decision. The structure of the Committee's membership influenced the direction of decision making; deans would argue for the interests of their respective areas, but what they could achieve for their respective schools was governed by the relative position of the members, as the following case shows.

During 1980 the Executive Committee devoted a great deal of attention to the setting of student quotas. The figures provided by the schools projected an EFT enrolment for 1981 of 1648 students. The enrolments in 1980 had already exceeded the quota set by VPSEC, and VPSEC had established a quota of only 1500 EFT for the 1982–84 triennium. The Business Manager produced a paper which argued that the Institute should cutback its student intake to 1400 EFT for 1981.

> The overall total of 2674 (1648 EFT) is very high. In terms of our resources it must be too high. Our ability to adequately service this number of students must be questionable, and if this total is realistic its adoption could only reinforce any doubts about our concern for quality.[25]

The Institute was already budgeting for a large deficit in 1981–82, and the Business Manager did not believe that the Institute would get more funds to teach additional students. The Business Manager's paper displayed a genuine concern for the capacity of the Institute adequately to meet the academic needs of students. While the Executive Committee accepted his general argument, the task remained to allocate quotas to the various teaching areas. Staffing levels and other resources are dependant, to a degree, on student quotas. The question was, if there were going to be cuts in student numbers, from which area were they to come. The discussion over quotas in each area was not concerned with any straightforward formula for the allocation of student numbers, but rather they raised issues about the basic purposes and direction of the Institute.

The Director argued that the technologies had to be strengthened and that the Institute might be in jeopardy if a university-type arts degree was emphasized. A list of quota allocations among the schools was drawn up. While the overall student quota was cut, those in Engineering and Applied Science were increased.

The Dean of Business and Social Sciences put an impassioned plea to the Executive Committee for an increase of student numbers in his two schools, which, he argued, had attracted large numbers of students and, thus, resources to the Institute. He believed these schools could meet any quota the Institute chose to set, particularly with regard to external students. In the past, the schools had been asked to over-enrol students so that the Institute could meet its overall quota allocation, and now they were being penalized for their hard work. He also feared that the cuts would put some programs in jeopardy.

The Acting Dean of Education and the Head of Visual Arts also argued against cuts to their schools. The Acting Dean of Education argued that, while teacher education enrolments were being cut throughout the college system, VPSEC had chosen to increase the quota at GIAE from 350 to 500 EFT. He feared that, if they did not meet the externally set quota, it would be decreased in subsequent years. The Head of Visual Arts argued for more students because he felt that his area was the only one which emphasized non-vocational 'cultural enlightenment' type courses. The Gippsland region was itself 'culturally deprived' and a strong School of Visual Arts could act as a cultural 'counterbalance'. He also argued that his School, almost exclusively, enrolled internal students in which the Institute was severely lacking, and that the planned introduction of a degree in arts would itself attract more students. Neither of these two heads could state their case with the conviction with which the Dean of Business and Social Sciences could put his argument. He could demonstrate unequivocally the capacity of his schools to attract students. However, he was only able to get a marginal increase in the projected quota for his schools.

Though there was an upward adjustment of the 1400 EFT suggested by the Business Manager to 1425 EFT, all schools except Engineering and Applied Science received a cut in their future student intake relative to their 1980 actual enrolments. Social Sciences was hit particularly hard with a reduction of 57 EFT for 1981, and the reduction of another 20 EFT for 1982. The Director argued successfully that the technologies had to be strengthened, and it did not matter so much that Engineering and Applied Science meet their assigned student quotas in 1981, as that the Institute commence gradually to transfer resources to these areas. Naturally, the Dean of Engineering and Applied Science (and the Head of Engineering who was present at meetings in the Dean's absence) also supported the technologies. The Deputy Principal, who had worked at YTC before transferring to GIAE, was also sympathetic to the technologies. The Assistant to Director was not in a position to oppose the wishes of the Director, and neither the Acting Dean of Education nor the Head of Visual Arts were going to support a large increase in student numbers for Business and Social Sciences while they were attempting to receive a more favourable quota for their own areas. While the Dean of Business and Social Sciences could demonstrate student demand for his courses, his arguments fell largely upon deaf ears.

Throughout 1980 and into 1981, the Executive Committee continued its discussions on the future direction of the Institute and how best to balance resources among the various schools. The discussions ranged from the consideration of the transfer of salary monies from Business and Social Sciences to Engineering and Applied Science, to the consideration of the overall philosophy of a CAE.

The Executive Committee has had both functional and dysfunctional consequences for the organization. On the positive side it has allowed senior staff to participate in decision making and, to a degree, has structured out the more overt forms of academic politics from the decision-making process, although no such committee could be entirely free from sectional interest.

The negative aspects of the Executive Committee's role were that it helped to sponsor a great deal of suspicion within the Institute, it furthered the degree of alienation between rank-and-file academic staff and those who held top-level administrative positions, and it hindered the development of any degree of unity and cohesion with regard to major policy decisions. Any meeting of senior officers behind closed doors to consider such basic issues as the direction and future of individual schools will sponsor a considerable amount of rumour and suspicion among staff. Gippsland Institute is a small place, but the number of rumours and the degree of mis-information which circulates amongst members is quite out of proportion to its size. Some members of the School of Social Sciences were particularly worried that moves were being made to discontinue the B.A. degree, which would significantly restrict the external studies program. Since they had no concrete evidence on which to base their suspicions, their sense of alienation from the institution rose, and morale fell.

It would be impractical and unwise to restrict the chief executive officer of an institution from meeting with his senior staff. But the Executive Committee at GIAE was more than an *ad hoc* grouping of individuals. While having no formal status in terms of official regulations, or being subject to normal committee procedures, the Executive Committee, as previously stated, made the majority of the important decisions during the period of field research. Though council committees had the formal power to alter or overturn these decisions, if the possibility arose the Director could argue that he and his senior staff had discussed and supported a particular decision and—except possibly for the Academic Board—it would be highly unlikely for a committee to dispute the decision. The Director had the further advantage in this extra-structural arrangement of choosing the particular committee in which he would introduce the decisions of the Executive Committee. The nature of the Executive Committee runs counter to the structure for academic decision making from the bottom up. An Executive Committee working in this way can serve to alienate some members of academic staff, and may also divorce lay members of Council from being actively involved in Institute affairs. As more and more of the policies of such committees as Staffing Committee and Finance Committee are presented to them in a *fait accompli* fashion, the less likely lay members of Council will feel a useful role to play within the Institute.

There is some merit in the argument that basic decisions which involve fundamental change need to be initiated by a small group of powerful individuals. Whatever the decision, it can be effective only if implemented. In order to implement change, there must be a degree of support from institutional members. In this respect, it may have been better for the Director to have met with his senior staff at the local inn (rather than making their meeting a semi-formal affair) while simultaneously increasing the degree of participation by rank-and-file staff in the formal decision-making process. According to Cohen and March (1974, p.209–10), 'direct involvement of dissident groups in the decision-making process is a more effective depressant of exaggerated aspirations than is a lecture by the president'.

On the other hand, increasing the number of individuals who may have access to academic decision making will certainly not solve all organizational problems. In fact, extending the lines of decision making may well increase organizational conflict, for more groups holding divergent interests and points of view will be brought into face-to-face contact. Yet, this form of conflict may be healthy for the organization. It allows opinions and attitudes to be aired openly and freely. The greater the number of divergent interest groups allowed to participate in decision making, the less likely it is that polarization will occur within the organization. Complete unity and cohesion can never be achieved; but conflict, under the right structural circumstances, can be a strong force for overall unity and cohesion.

Neither universal democracy nor total authoritarian rule is an appropriate form of government for academic institutions. In an institutional setting, democratic government for its own sake can very quickly deteriorate to a state of *liberum veto*, where any organized minority acts as a veto group rather than as a creative centre for decision making (Moodie and Eustace, 1974, p.223). Academic organizations are professional organizations, and academic staff because of their training, expertise and status will feel that it is their right to participate in both setting and executing the policies of the institution in which they work. Conflict between the professional staff and the bureaucratic administration is a common feature of nearly all professional organizations. Overcoming the conflict between the professional and the bureaucrat, so that the organization as a whole can move forward with some sense of unity and cohesion, is not so common.

Vocationalism as Symbol and Source of Structural Cleavage

It needs to be stressed that GIAE is not unique in terms of conflicting views on the nature and structure of college government. In 1970 Pugh, for example, identified this type of conflict as a potential problem for the whole of the CAE sector:

> The interpersonal relationships and structures of policy making which generally obtain in industry and in the public service are NOT relevant to a tertiary educational institution. There is the danger that since colleges of advanced education find it necessary to liaise with industry and the public service they might adopt structures of government which characterize those institutions . . .
> If we are pessimistic about the prospective academic development in the colleges, we would experience a continuation of some of the unfortunate realities which characterize at least some sections of some of the colleges. The majority of the unfortunate realities spring from authoritarian structures of government and from a lack of vision and ability in some personnel . . . Under the combined influences of these factors, propositions for relatively minor reforms meet with emotional and authoritarian responses. Reform is precluded by prevarication and by the argument from authority which depends solely on status for its viewpoint. (pp.13–4)

Wark (cited in Birrell, 1972) expresses a somewhat different point of view:

> College Councils should be so constituted that they will resist any efforts on the part of the students or staff to lose sight of their technological character and must discourage any attempt to develop the scholastic outlook of the universities. (p.12)

As the colleges have grown and matured, probably the more extreme forms of authoritarian behaviour to which Pugh refers have disappeared. Wark's intention was not to put down the interests of staff and students, but to keep the colleges tied to their vocational charter. Nevertheless, some confusion over the functional difference between universities and CAEs has been a prevailing aspect in the development of advanced education; and competing paradigms of organization and management have arisen in individual colleges, with the attendant liability for dispute and conflict. On one level of generalization, the very vocational philosophy of the CAE system—intended to distinguish the function of the colleges from that of the universities, and unite college members behind a common goal—may have been associated with this process.

At GIAE, vocationalism was often referred to in debates over structure, and used as a justification for the type of structure which developed. However, there is nothing inherent in a philosophy of vocationally relevant education which in itself could determine a specific structural form. Moreover, the degree to which vocationalism can distinguish the function of the CAEs from that of the universities has been seriously questioned. Possibly, people have tended to attach a meaning and significance to vocationalism which goes well beyond its functional utility. This may be because of the original association between vocational education and the organizational environment of the technical colleges, on the one hand, and the process of upward academic drift and the attempts to contain it, on the other.

It was mentioned in Chapter 2 that, while the original planners sought to differentiate the functions of universities and CAEs, they were far less clear on what the differences were to be in terms of status and standards. While college staff were enjoined not to emulate the universities, and individual councils instructed to ensure that this was the case, the planners also laid down guidelines which suggested that the CAEs incorporate many of the basic characteristics of the universities. The policy makers wanted a difference in function but an equality in terms of prestige—and in the Australian context equal status and prestige meant emulating university characteristics. At the time, there was no other model of high-status tertiary education available.

The policy makers hoped that the goal of applied and vocational training would be achieved in the colleges by the recruitment of staff with extensive experience in commerce, industry, and community services. While simultaneously wanting a body of staff who would be more responsive to the utilitarian needs of the community than their colleagues in the universities, the policy makers, because of the lack of alternative models, had to define the essential characteristics of the academic community in university terms. A 1968 VIC document on the responsibilities and qualifications of tertiary teaching staff stated:

> In essence a college lecturer should be the academic equivalent of his university associates, but will be expected to devote a greater proportion of his time to teaching . . .
> Senior lecturers will, in general, be required to have a higher degree and ten years industrial, research or teaching experience; value will be placed on appropriate industrial experience and these people will be expected to be academically as able as their university counterparts.
> It is envisaged that heads of departments (and principal lecturers) should have an academic status equivalent to readers in universities.[26]

The early pronouncements on the role and purpose of advanced education were, as West (1977) notes, more in the nature of hopes than statements of reality. In their attempt to carve out a distinct educational domain, the policy makers had to formulate some set of criteria which would distinguish CAEs from universities. Largely because of the highly vocational image of the technical colleges from which the CAEs were to develop, vocationalism became the symbol of distinction and difference. Possibly, in their enthusiasm to build up the CAEs, the policy makers may have overstated their case for a distinct educational domain, which, in turn, led to some of the harsher criticisms of the vocational philosophy. Anderson (1970), for example, wrote:

> It is interesting that the succession of politicians who have offered definitions of the differences between colleges and universities have ignored the obvious social facts of the binary system, i.e. its lower social status and, rather, have chosen to present data-free descriptions of the supposed psychological characteristics of students. There are theoretical and practical minds, they say, which naturally belong to academic and vocational courses which in turn neatly conform to what universities and colleges are supposed to do. There is no evidence that students' choices of university or college are paralleled by anything like these mental characteristics; there is no evidence that human minds can be usefully classified as theoretical and vocational; and to suppose that universities are not vocational is to not understand the history of universities. (p.5)

It has been difficult to maintain an educational philosophy which, as a matter of necessity, distinguishes courses according to their location, while simultaneously claiming equality in terms of course standards. If, for example, the final goal is to produce professionals, it is rather spurious to speak of one route leading to this goal as being necessarily less analytical and less dependent on theory than another route. Professionals are distinguished from other occupational categories by their training and enculturation in a distinct body of knowledge and theory, and 'it is impossible to produce good practitioners in the professions unless there has been emphasis in the curricula upon the concepts, principles, theories and methodologies of relevant subject disciplines' (Pugh, 1970, p.11). One administrator (O'Neill, 1982) with extensive experience in a metropolitan CAE writes:

> Colleges are equal to universities, it is said, in demanding the same high standards of teaching and of student performance. They are different in making a vocational emphasis central to the courses offered. There has been much institutional ink spilt in the elaboration of such precepts.
> This line of thinking fortifies a myth about the universities—that their teaching is more abstract, theoretical or 'rarefied'—and reinforces a pervasive fallacy about educational procedures in the colleges—that they, by comparison, are practical, purposive, and geared to our society's requirements . . .
> This dichotomy between theoretical and professional approaches to tertiary education cannot be sustained alongside a supposed constant of academic equality. Either the colleges place different academic expectations on their students because their courses serve different purposes, or if there is to be a constancy of attainment then any difference in curriculum emphasis must be a matter of style rather than content.
> To suggest that college curricula can at once be different in kind from those adopted in the universities and at the same time like in content requirement strikes me as paradoxical indeed. (p.2)

With the passage of time and in the face of the reality of how the colleges have actually developed, it has become harder for policy makers to assert that the CAEs occupy a distinct and unique sector within Australian tertiary education. 'Policy-makers continued to define colleges against universities', as West (1977, p.147) notes, but they now 'drew the contrast less sharply'. With the current proposals to amalgamate colleges with universities, there is diminished usefulness for any definition which places advanced education in a separate and distinct category. However, in 1981 the TEC was still prepared to assert a cleavage:

> Colleges have a more direct relationship with industry, commerce and other employing authorities . . . College students are generally expected to have vocational rather than academic or scholarly interests . . . College courses tend to have a more applied emphasis and to be more vocationally orientated . . . College staff are expected to retain links with industry and the world of work. (Part 3, pp.11–2)

There is nothing intrinsically wrong with vocational education or with the application of knowledge to the problems of the community or industry and commerce. Nearly all (if not all) tertiary education institutions are, in one way or another, involved in these activities. The great majority of Australian tertiary students, if for no other reason than economic necessity, will, upon graduation, be seeking employment or pursuing career advancement. It is unlikely that a serious case will be made for non-vocational education, for example, a case for universities which is the exact reverse of the above TEC statement about colleges. The number of students such a system would or could attract would be entirely insignificant. In a moneyed economy, one does not find one group of students pursuing vocational courses and another group uninterested in the vocational outcome of their studies. A danger with the vocational label is that it may be used to justify courses with extremely limited range and narrow work orientation. The result can be that students undertaking such courses are ill-equipped for changing employment opportunities. And with regard to the application of knowledge *vis-a-vis* pure research, we should be reminded that Rutherford once believed his research would never have any practical application.

Woods (1978) believes that vocationalism, despite its vagueness and generality, remained as the 'central element of VIC organizational domain' because of its symbolic or ideological function. In reviewing the information obtained from numerous VIC informants, Woods (1978) writes:

> The most remarkable feature of these [comments on vocationalism] is the actual *lack* of definition . . . what it means appears to have been judged self-evident . . . In interviews most informants found it difficult to describe what vocationalism meant. Most responses were punctuated by long pauses; several respondents laughed or grimaced in a manner that seemed to denote anxiety; and a small number of respondents showed unmistakable signs of anger . . . All of these data are unexceptional if we assume that vocationalism and its cognates are functioning as *doctrinal symbols* in VIC affairs, much the same as, for example, 'Christianity' functions in the affairs of Christian churches. Like most doctrinal symbols 'vocationalism' has much emotional significance but only modest explicit cognitive content . . .
>
> Far from *weakening* commitment to vocationalism, the vagueness of the term has made it easier for those who believe in its 'domain distinguishing' potency to go on doing so. (p.225)

It may be useful to draw a distinction between vocationalism as a doctrine, in the sense that Woods uses the term, and vocationalism in terms of course orientation and style of teaching. There can be little dispute that courses may differ in terms of their vocational specificity. Moreover, the more professionally oriented the course—for example, pharmacy, engineering, physiotherapy, etc.—the more directly it is tied to employment in a distinct field. However, courses like pharmacy, engineering and physiotherapy are taught in both CAEs and universities. Even within the same professional area, courses may differ in terms of teaching style. At GIAE, for example, within Engineering and Applied Science the emphasis is on relevant industrial experience and providing the student with the skills and training which will allow him to be of immediate use to a particular industrial organization. Even so, there is a minimum loading in terms of curricula content which must be achieved by all courses, despite their location, before a student can be recognized as a professional in a particular field.

The argument here is not over vocational specificity, but concerns the use of vocationalism as a concept which attempts to differentiate two distinct educational sectors. The concept of vocationalism may have been stretched beyond the point where it is useful as a device for differentiating the function of universities and CAEs in practical terms, and elevated to the level of ideology—an ideology in which people either believe or they do not. The very attempts to keep CAEs tied to their vocational charter, coupled with the need to contain and control upward academic drift, which may be seen as a threat to the vocational ideology, may have helped to generate structural conflict. In other words, vocationalism may have been equated with hierarchical bureaucratic control, as well as helping to reinforce the notion that the activities of the colleges had to be stringently controlled from the top if they were not to become like universities. Moreover the emotional loading attached to vocationalism as a doctrinal symbol helps to exacerbate conflict.

It has already been noted that many GIAE Council members, because of their past experiences, are more familiar with hierarchical bureaucratic structures which emphasize the role of executive management than with academic models which stress professional participation in decision making and policy formation from the bottom up. Because of their socialization in an entirely different work environment, it is difficult for Council members to understand the behavioural patterns in academic organizations. For example, one relatively new Council member, who also held a senior management position in a local industry, expressed his surprise at the degree of conflict and divisiveness at the Institute, and queried if all academic institutions were the same. He observed that business organizations also had their conflicts, but never to the same degree as at GIAE. He expressed the opinion that the goals of the business enterprise and the strategies available for achieving them were narrower and more specific than was the case for higher education institutions. In academic organizations, there can be group alliances and disputes over the mode of management, structure, teaching methods, educational philosophy, and so on; there is no common theme, such as the profit motive to unite members.[27] The Council member, like March and Cohen, saw that academic organizations were 'organized anarchies'—but it was a model which he found difficult to understand and live with.

Greenwood (1978, 1981), in developing an anarchistic theory of organizations, believes that the histories, attitudes, values, ideologies, and world views of individuals are of utmost importance in understanding the nature of organizations. 'We believe in the ideas in our own heads', writes Greenwood (1981), 'we trust our models for the world so deeply that we make them true' (p.3). All organizations consist of individuals with separate realities and world views, and conflicts are over not only immediate political interests, but also consist of a test of wills between individuals holding differing perceptions of the world. The problem for the CAEs, however, has been the tendency for individuals with different and conflicting sets of values and beliefs to coalesce into two primary groups. Overcoming the problem does not lie merely with improving communications, for the groups and individuals speak different languages—languages which do not entirely lend themselves to mutual interpretations.

College councils and chief executive officers have had little choice but to accept official definitions on the goals, structure, and purpose of the CAE sector. It is the external state and federal bodies which provide and distribute the funds and accredit the courses. For individual colleges publicly to defy official prescriptions with regard to the CAE sector would be to invite disaster. Nonetheless, the application of official definitions within individual institutions may have compounded the problem of management.

The history and development of GIAE has been in the direction of limiting democratic participation of rank-and-file staff and in increasing the power and responsibility of a limited number of senior officers. At the same time, institutional leaders have deferred to some aspects of traditional values with regard to academic structure and process. Council has created an academic board having responsibility for course standards, the examination of students, course development, and similar matters. It has already been demonstrated that competing models of organizational structure and management have produced a good deal of internal conflict at GIAE. Further, while institutional leaders have been willing to make some allowance for academic form and procedure, the academic process is one in which leaders lack faith and commitment. This serves to further increase the alienation and cynicism of a significant portion of academic staff and to broaden the gulf between staff and the council/ administration.

The True Bureaucrat

The strain between competing paradigms of structural organization and differences resulting from varying degrees of commitment to academic norms and processes could be observed not only in the workings of committees but in the functioning of certain position holders. For example, the role and function of the Institute's Community Services Officer, Mr Murray Homes, was an anomaly in the formal structural sense. His position within the organization was ambiguous, and his activities were viewed with a degree of ambivalence.

Homes's informal power to influence events far exceeded the power and responsibility of his formal position. There is nothing exceptional about such a situation, for in complex organizations there is rarely a one-to-one relationship between status and power. Homes had had extensive experience as an employee of the Victorian Teachers Union before joining the Institute in November 1976 and, thus, was well versed in the political process. In general terms, Homes was employed to sell the Institute to the community, to identify community needs, and to suggest ways in which the Institute might develop in order to meet those needs. The functions attached to his position gave the Community Services Officer a great deal of power to influence internal activities.

The Community Services Officer was a highly energetic man, who pursued the job of liaising with industry, commerce and the general community with skill and vigour. The position required him to travel extensively throughout the Gippsland region in order to consult with prospective students, teachers, members of local government councils, representatives of industry, and so on. Homes was able to generate community support for the Institute, and he often used his skills to help protect GIAE's autonomy. For example, Institute members gave Homes credit for being instrumental in initiating a public campaign which helped to save the college's School of Engineering (see Chapter 9). On occasion, his enthusiasm to get the Institute to take account of community needs and opinions, along with some of the methods he employed, created problems.

The loyalty of the Community Services Officer was to the institution as a whole, but many members were of the opinion that it was a loyalty to an institution which he tended to define in his own terms. In a theoretical sense, the activities of the Community Services Officer fall somewhere between Greenwood's concept of the anarchistic administrator attempting to impose his idiosyncratic view of reality upon the institution, and Gouldner's notion of the true bureaucrat. With regard to the true bureaucrat Gouldner (1958:447) writes:

> They are loyal not so much to the college's distinctive values as to the place itself. They are distinguished, for example, by their orientation to the town in which their organization is located and their sensitiveness to the criticisms that townspeople level at the college. In effect, they are a dissident group of locals who seek to adjust their organization's values to those in the immediate environment. Unlike the dedicated locals, they are not advocates of internal consensus but are willing to engage in internal conflict in order to adjust the group to external pressures. Thus, far from upholding the organization's traditional values, they may actually contribute to their subversion. Their concern about outside criticism leads them to seek changes in the traditional institutions and values of the organization. (p.447)

The Community Services Officer has seen it as his task to attempt a continuous adjustment of the organization to community values and external threats. This has placed him in conflict with both cosmopolitan and local staff.

Until the administrative reorganization in 1981, the Community Services Officer was under the supervision of the Deputy Principal's Office. However, Homes's power base rested not with the Deputy Principal, but on his association with the Director, President of Council, and other key Council members. He acted as the Institute's publicity officer, which put him in the position of writing many of the press statements for the Director and President of Council. In early 1977, Homes became a permanent observer of Council meetings.

Regular attendance at Council meetings gave Homes a great deal of power to influence decisions. This power, however, was derived from the informal aspects of his regular attendance. While Homes was not in a position directly to engage in debates, he had ready access to Council members. He could engage in discussion with Council members on a particular issue during the evening meal break as well as supply Council members with information, and he has formed friendship patterns with Council members on several levels.

Homes was particularly sensitive to the community opinion regarding the Institute, and went to great lengths to protect the security of the organization—this was, in part, his job. What worried some members of staff was the nature of the community opinion he sought, how he relayed such opinion to the Director and members of

Council, and the means he employed to protect the security of the organization. For example, Homes believed that the Institute's School of Education had a poor image in local Gippsland schools. He also believed that this was, in part, because of the academic orientations of the Foundation Dean of Education (Dr John Lawry). Homes's view was that Lawry's loyalty was more to his intellectual discipline than to the organization, and thought he was not the right man to be a Dean at a small college. The case of the supposedly poor community image of the School of Education was pressed with Institute leaders and select Council members; and a significant degree of interpersonal conflict developed between Homes and the Dean. Shortly before Lawry resigned in early 1979, he wrote in a memorandum to Homes:

> I think you are able to judge from my comments and mood that I have been seriously concerned by the fact that matters concerning my prime responsibility for staff and courses were not, for whatever reason, referred directly to me by you. The point is a simple but fundamental one and I hope you appreciate the seriousness of the ethical and professional aspects involved in my view.[28]

There was some substance to the allegation of antagonism between the Institute and teachers in local schools. The Acting Regional Director of Education noted that Lawry came to the Institute with new and innovative ideas with regard to teacher education, but that Gippsland is a highly conservative country area and prone to resist change and innovation. He stated that it may have been better for the Institute to have established a traditional pattern of teacher education and then to attempt slowly to innovate.[29] It seems that the Community Services Officer was more concerned with the image than with the nature of the academic program in teacher education.

One of the problems with a role like Community Services Officer is how the incumbent is to judge and assess the significance and extent of community values and opinions. While the press and other mechanisms can be used to elicit public support over a particular issue, it is a much more difficult task to assess the community's day-to-day opinions and attitudes of an organization. The way Homes operated led some staff to conclude that he had his own preconceived image of what the Institute should be, and that he used certain community opinions and values in order to adjust the organization to that image. A case in point concerns the School of Visual Arts.

Publicizing the Institute to the local schools and the recruitment of students was one of the responsibilities of the Community Services

Officer. In June and July of each year the Institute mounts an extensive school visitation program. The Community Services Officer addresses the Year 6 class in each Gippsland school, outlining tertiary education opportunities in general and those available at GIAE in particular. After his initial visit, academic staff visit the schools in order to answer the specialized questions of prospective students. In July 1980, Homes wrote the following to the Head of Visual Arts:

> Students are going to be scarce next year and unless visual arts staff are prepared to chase students, enrolments will not be maintained. On top of this you should be aware that Gippsland careers teachers are not recommending students to take visual arts courses.[30]

A copy of the memo was also sent to the Director's office.

Staff in Visual Arts took the memo as an insult, and a meeting was arranged between Homes, the Deputy Principal, and the staff in the School to discuss the matter.[31] Homes put the case that the careers teachers at Gippsland schools were not recommending students to take courses in visual arts at GIAE, and that the staff were showing no interest in the local schools, or in overcoming the poor image of visual arts courses. He mentioned that staff were 'more interested in promoting their own art work and themselves than in teaching students'. He was critical of the School's practice of allowing lecturers one day a week free from teaching duties to practise their art, and said that 'students are bad-mouthing the course all around the Gippsland region'. He said that the typical Gippsland student was a conservative person and that the way-out life-styles of some lecturers and students in Visual Arts turned students away from arts courses and gave the Institute a bad name in the local community.

Staff acknowledged the fact that there was some negative opinion of the visual arts course among certain local art teachers, particularly those in local technical schools. But they also noted the historical aspect of this antagonism. When the School of Visual Arts was founded at GIAE, there was a strong expectation among local arts teachers in the technical schools that they would get jobs at the Institute. This did not happen, however, and some of these people were hurt and resentful of the fact. The Head of School noted that although this old wound had not completely disappeared, the majority of their students came from local technical schools. Staff also noted that there would always be a degree of suspicion and antagonism of artists and of an arts school in the general community, particularly in a conservative, provincial rural region.

Staff were upset at the accusation that they were not interested in the local schools or community. It was pointed out that they held local art exhibitions and seminars, judged local art shows, held 'open days', and so on. One member of staff stated that a recent ceramics seminar at the Institute had been very well attended. Homes, while acknowledging this fact, stated that the majority of participants in the seminar were from outside the Gippsland region, and thus did little to improve the image of the School in the eyes of the local population. Gippslanders, according to Homes, were more interested in art as a hobby than as a profession. The staff believed that they had established a School of Art with a national reputation which had the ability to attract students not only from Gippsland but from Melbourne and throughout Australia. Homes stated that the course was not appropriate for the 'average Gippsland kid'.

The academic staff in the School expressed some astonishment that the Community Services Officer thought they should actually 'chase student enrolments'. They not only questioned the ethics of such a stance, but also considered that it went against the philosophical grain of the School. The Head of School explained his position further in a memorandum to Homes following the meeting:

> Our best students are coming to us because they really want to, in spite of all warnings about the economic side of a career in art. In other words, careers advice in general is, in our opinion, not the source of our students.
>
> I also personally sometimes try to advise anyone against a career in art. If then they say, 'but I still want to devote my life to art', then we know that is the student we want.[32]

The debate was, in one sense, a classic example of conflicting role expectations. The Community Services Officer was concerned with securing the image of the School of Visual Arts. The staff in the School felt that art could only be properly taught by practising artists of national standard, and that art, if taught and practised properly, would inevitably conflict with some of the attitudes and values of a provincial materialistic culture. The staff in the School believed that their time was better spent in practising their profession and in running sound courses than in chasing students and acting as salesmen for the Institute.

What started as an administrative complaint that staff in Visual Arts were not keeping their appointments to visit local schools became a campaign to change the nature, structure and philosophy of the School. On the conclusion of the meeting with the School—which did not resolve the conflict—criticisms of the School to the Director and to certain members of Council continued. However, it was not clear what would happen to the School at the end of the period of field research. The Head of the School of Visual Arts tendered his resignation at the end of 1980.

The activities of the Community Services Officer are good examples of the importance and difficulty of relating the existential to the structural in the attempt to understand complex organizations. Structure—the pattern of human interrelationships—does, in part, help to determine the function of groups and individuals within an organization. It would be impossible to understand the power of the Community Services Officer to influence events without appreciating his relational position to the Director and members of Council. Had the Community Services Officer been in a different structural position and had he not held an office which lent legitimization to his information, his function within the organization would have been significantly altered. It is essential to understand the attitudes, values and past experiences of the Community Services Officer in order to appreciate his impact on the organization. Homes's ability to influence events far exceeded the power and responsibility of his structural position. Because of his past experience with the union movement, he tended to look for political rather than academic solutions to complex problems. The Community Services Officer's personality and loyalty to the organization allowed him to engage in a great deal of internal conflict in attempting to change the organization. People do not merely function within a structure, but have, within limits, the ability to manipulate and bend the structure to meet the requirements of their own idiosyncratic world views. Structure helps to set the rules of the game, but it does not necessarily determine how individual actors will play the game or even if they will play by the rules. The more a bureaucratic structure is codified and regulated, the more difficult it is for individuals to ignore or supersede the formal rules. In fact, the creation of a position outside the line structure of the bureaucracy—one which enabled the Community Services Officer to exercise an oracular function in interpreting community attitudes to the senior staff—was an open invitation, intended or otherwise, for the incumbent to exercise an instrumental role in determining policy at the highest level.

Since the publication of the Partridge report in early 1978, external threat has become a constant factor in the development of GIAE in particular and in the Victorian CAE system in general. This situation has probably helped to exaggerate the significance of the role of the Community Services Officer, as well as heighten the conflict between competing paradigms of organization within the Institute. An institution which is continually under threat (real or perceived) of externally imposed change, by necessity becomes somewhat reactionary in its internal response to external forces. This, in turn, has led Institute leaders away from a dependence on the slower and more cumbersome academic mechanisms for decision making. The opinions of the professional academic community, and thorough professional consideration of issues dramatically affecting that community, are often superseded by the urgency to secure the position of the Institute in its environment. The structure is available for involving professional staff in decision making through the various academic committees and the Academic Board, but this structure is often by-passed in favour of other avenues and methods of decision making.

Summary

Conflict is not necessarily the antithesis of co-operation and consensus, nor a sign of organizational malfunctioning. Organizational unity, along with conflict, is an important feature of the GIAE community. The Institute provides excellent educational opportunities to the people of Gippsland because its members have worked together over the years to make this so. The Director has devoted more than a decade of his life to transforming GIAE into a quality academic institution. His skill and expertise in the area of external studies broadened the educational scope of the Institute to an extent few before him thought possible. GIAE Council members have devoted a great deal of time and effort to protecting and furthering the interests of the College. GIAE has been fortunate in having a group of able academic staff, devoted to the notion of extending educational opportunities in a rural region. Conflict and consensus are ubiquitous aspects of all complex organizations. But the possibility exists that conflict, under certain circumstances—often outside the control of organizational members—may exceed functional limits, and severely threaten organizational stability.

There is no singular or simple cause to the structural conflict experienced by GIAE. In part, conflicting views over the structure and management of the CAEs have been held at all levels of the system, and certain aspects of this general debate have been reproduced on the micro-level. The state and federal policy makers, in defining the direction and purpose of the colleges and how they should be managed, created guidelines and educational philosophies which, according to some critics, are unworkable. The strains and structural cleavages at GIAE have involved not only the immediate interests of various groups, but also peoples' values, norms, and belief systems. Because of the normative nature of the academic enterprise, and because the GIAE community consists of people with widely different values and belief systems, the basic conflict is of an ideological nature. Without a generally accepted charter for the function and purpose of colleges, it will be difficult for members of GIAE to create the mechanisms which will resolve their basic conflicts. None the less, it behoves all who are concerned with the purpose of higher education to search for such mechanisms.

8

CONCLUSION TO PART III

The nature of the conflict within GIAE cannot be ascribed to simple causes or readily solved. Moreover, the internal divisions reflect certain structural strains inherent in the advanced education system as a whole—such as the strain between upward academic drift and attempts to control it by keeping the colleges tied to a vocational charter. Had different people founded and developed GIAE, the details of the internal conflict would, of course, have been different, but the potential for cleavage still would have been there. It may be worthwhile to suggest a few avenues which may help people to overcome the more extreme forms of internal conflict; though there is no one solution which will create complete harmony, the following suggestions may help to prevent polarization.

As paradoxical as it may first seem, college members—particularly those in leadership positions—might recognize and accept the existence of conflict. By the very nature of the enterprise—that is, teaching students at the tertiary level—CAEs belong to a specific class of organizations. They are normative organizations, with 'vague goals', 'unclear technologies' and 'fluid participation'; they are 'organized anarchies' (Cohen and March, 1974). To say that the teaching activity within the CAEs is to be more practical and applied than that in other higher education institutions, such as in the universities, does not remove them from their 'class position' relative to other organizations. The professional staff within the CAEs owe allegiance not only (or even at all) to the organization but to their professions and disciplines. This will always create a degree of strain between the institution and the professional staff members. Unless procedures for staff selection are drastically altered—and there seems little likelihood that they will be—more and more staff with the values and expectations obtained through university employment will move into the CAEs. This will, in turn, reinforce the basic academic nature of the enterprise.

One of the problems faced by GIAE is that an attempt has been made to overlay one form of structure and management upon another competing form. Institute leaders have opted for an organizational structure which stresses efficiency, decision making from the top down, acceptance of authority, and limited strategies for achieving precise goals. Some allowance is made for professional involvement in the formation of academic policy, but it is constrained and limited. Organizational leaders expect loyalty among staff to the organization's major policies and goals. They are surprised and disappointed when staff do not demonstrate this loyalty. On the other hand the goals of academic organizations are vague, and academic staff are used to a questioning process and may be expected to apply it in policy disputes. Cohen and March (1974) note that 'any educated person can deliver a lecture entitled "The Goals of the University". Almost no one will listen to the lecture voluntarily' (p.195). The vocational purpose of the colleges might seem to lead to clearer statements of function and goals for the CAE system than those found in universities. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the goals of the CAEs have any more operational content than the goals of the universities. In fact, the attempt to distinguish the colleges in an equal but different philosophy probably has contributed to the confusion over the purpose of college organizations.

Institute leaders need to accept the ambiguous, complex, vague and conflicting nature of the enterprise. This requires more than merely the formation of liberal attitudes towards conflict; it requires a resolution of the competition between competing paradigms of organization and management. No doubt there will always be competition. Without greater recognition of the structural necessity for significant academic involvement in management, the ideological and normative conflict between Institute leaders and academic staff will be ever-deepening.

For Institute members to become more creative and cohesive in their approach to providing higher education to the people of Gippsland, the academic process needs to be strengthened. Administrators often complain that academics, when given the chance to make decisions, procrastinate and pontificate. There is an element of truth in such attitudes and, if professional members are given more power to make decisions, they also need to appreciate the responsibility. Yet a climate in which professional conduct can flourish also needs to be created.

In a structural sense, there are two fundamental changes which may help to strengthen the academic process: the devolution of some power and responsibility from the top echelon of the administration and the simultaneous strengthening of the Academic Board. The Academic Board or its equivalent within any higher education institution—both formally and in practice—should be the most important single body for the formation of academic policy. During the period of field research, the GIAE Academic Board was largely a weak and ineffectual committee. The strengthening of the Academic Board will occur only if it is given much more real power to determine academic policy, which implies more than determining standards and certifying the scholarly achievements of students.

In a higher education institution, it is impossible to define precisely what is and is not of an academic nature. Clearly some activities, such as the allocation of finances, the promotion of staff, and overseeing capital works, must remain the direct concern of Council and its committees, and Council always will have the power to make the final decision on any issue. In attempting to strengthen the academic process—particularly in an institution with a long history of antagonism between academic staff and management—it is probably better to err on the side of the supreme academic committee in the allocation of power and responsibility.

For example, it would be of considerable benefit to have the Academic Board debate and make recommendations on issues such as academic organization, the future development of courses, or redirection in course offerings and program master-planning, instead of these topics causing dispute after recommendations are made by the Director and Executive to Council and then becoming known to staff. Having the Board debate these issues localizes the dispute and provides an arena for staff involvement. The same can be said for giving the Board the responsibility to make recommendations to Council on such issues as the balance of enrolments and staffing among schools.

Some members of Council may view the Academic Board as a forum merely for the advancement of the self-interest of academic staff. There is the danger that some staff may also view it in this way. Ideally, the Academic Board should be a dynamic body, allowing for the representation of the interests and points of view of all the relevant groups within the organization. The resolutions and policies of any academic board are the product of conflict and compromise. A lay council within a higher education institution has little choice but to put its faith in its academic staff. Perhaps the self-interest doubts can be overcome, in part, by establishing a clearly defined path direct to Council for representations on industrial matters. Were it available, there would be less perceived need to have recourse to the Academic Board for this purpose.

All parties within the Institute have been confused over the role of academic staff as professional members and as employees. The lack of strong academic traditions and structures has probably helped to emphasize the role of the academic staff association within GIAE. This association is placed in a position to argue for both academic principles and the more immediate and pecuniary interests of its membership. The staff association should continue to consider academic principles, but staff members must be able to clearly distinguish their role as professional members from that of union members.

Strengthening the Academic Board is probably just as important symbolically, as allocating wider powers and responsibilities to it. Academic norms and values, whether members always believe in them or not, need to be respected and understood. Emphasizing the role of the Academic Board may help to create a professional climate of decision making within all quarters of the Institute. However, the Board will lack both real and symbolic strength so long as other structures exist and are used in parallel with it. The Executive Committee and the Management Board are seen by Institute members as the locus of power and authority. Below the level of Council, the Academic Board needs to be the key body—both in terms of its actual power and in its symbolic function.

The whole of the committee system is better supported, and the respect of staff engendered for its institutional function, when the registry is established as a separate professional administrative unit. Before the 1977 administrative changes at GIAE, the Registrar's office, with the formal position of Registrar, was a distinct branch of the Deputy Principal's Division. The Registrar was the Secretary to Council, and the Academic Secretary in the Registrar's Office was the Secretary of the Academic Board and other academic committees. After the change, and some subsequent minor reshuffling, the position of Registrar was abolished, and the position of Assistant Registrar, responsible to the Head of ESD, was created. The Assistant Registrar would service the Academic Board, while the Assistant to Director would be the Secretary to Council. The structural changes which were implemented in 1981 pushed the role of the registry further down the scale in the administrative hierarchy. The Assistant Registrar is responsible to the Head of ESD who is responsible to the Assistant to Director who is responsible to the Director. Thus, the role of Registrar within the organization has been significantly reduced in status. The current position of Assistant Registrar is one which is highly vulnerable to directives from above, both in structural terms and in practice. This, in turn, has further weakened members' faith in the proper functioning of the academic committee system.

The function of a registry within academic organizations is not merely to enrol students, keep track of student records, construct timetables, and schedule examinations. A registrar's office also has the vital task of servicing the academic committee system by providing committee secretaries who record minutes, type the agendas, and keep records. What is not included in official minutes is just as important as what is included. Another function of a registry is to codify in statutes and regulations an institution's policies and procedures. The greater the degree of codification, the less able are members to act extemporaneously. Besides, the process of codification involves change in the expression of powers and the specification of previously vague responsibilities. As Treyvand and McLaren (1976) have observed, the extent of codification and regulation of organizational arrangements is often less in the colleges than in the universities (p.27).

There is probably no highly complex organization which has not experienced some conflict over the application of rules and procedures. Given the fact that complex organizations are fractured by divergent and competing interest groups, the need for codified and well-regulated bureaucratic procedures becomes even more necessary. Conflict will always be present, but it needs to take place within the rules of the game. It also needs to be recognized that formal regulations can be used for two purposes: to ensure organizational justice; or to enforce authoritarian control. The nature of the regulations adopted by an institution will depend upon its regnant organizational paradigm. It is likely that procedural problems will plague any institution so long as members hold to competing paradigms of organization and management.

The academic process does not occur within the Academic Board, or any other division or committee within the organization. An academic board exists only to nourish and further this process—at least ideally. The academic process is the interaction and interrelationship between staff and students; it is only in the classroom that the formation and implementation of academic policy has any real meaning. The whole of the structure of a higher education institution—committee system, administration, and council—should be designed to facilitate the interrelationship between academic staff and students.

Hawkins (1975) states that college administrations are prone to evaluation, by both their own members and outsiders, through a quantitative assessment of numbers: number of students, number of dollars allocated by funding authorities, number of new buildings, and number of staff. He believes that this form of evaluation, however, is not appropriate in terms of the ostensible purpose for which higher education institutions are established—that is, 'the interaction of faculty and students'. He believes an indirect qualitative measurement of the performance of administrators is more useful:

> Administration can in the final analysis do no more than try to foster faculty to teach and interact with students and grow in their discipline. It can attempt to efficiently utilize resources, see that details of operating the institution be as smooth and functionally positive as possible, and create the climate for the most meaningful educational experience possible. In the long run these represent the *real* test of how well the administration has performed. (p.31)

While there will always be a degree of tension within the institution between managing the organization and facilitating the interaction between staff and students, it needs to be recognized by all concerned that an academic organization exists for this interaction.

A director within a CAE is given considerable power and a great deal of responsibility. In effect, the director has all of the power of the council in terms of the day-to-day operations of the organization. Directors are employed for the explicit purpose of implementing council policy and providing strong leadership. If in fulfilling their leadership role they feel they must continually test their will against the will of others who may hold contrary interests and aims, conflict will be exaggerated.

The degree to which directors are held responsible for the health and development of the organization—by both themselves and others—probably far exceeds their power to influence events. The maintenance of power and authority in a complex organization split by numerous factions and interest groups is, indeed, a precarious exercise. Professional organizations will always tend to fight against the over-centralization of power and authority, and teaching and learning is probably better facilitated in higher education institutions by allowing academic staff to make more of the basic decisions. Further, in a pragmatic sense, the devolution of power and responsibility may increase the ability of key administrators to influence events. Cohen and March (1974) note:

> From a tactical point of view, the main objection to central direction and control is that it requires an impossible amount of attention and energy. The kinds of organizations with which we have been concerned are unable to be driven where we want them to go without making considerable use of the 'natural' organizational processes. The appropriate tactics of management are unobtrusive and indirect. (p.213)

In order to help decentralize control within an academic organization, possibly it would help if the chief executive officer and the chairman of an academic board were not necessarily one and the same person. At present, GIAE's Director is *ex officio* Chairman of the Board. This not only gives the Director a great deal of formal control over academic affairs, but it also places him in a role which has contradictory expectations. As Chairman, the Director is in the position to interpret the views and decisions of the Board at Council level. The Director is also expected to provide the Institute with strong leadership, and there were occasions during the period of field research when the leadership role put the Director in conflict with the views and opinions of members of the Academic Board. This, in turn, created a dilemma for the Director. Was he to argue against certain resolutions of the Academic Board and risk alienating members of the Institute's main academic decision-making body; or was he to argue in favour of resolutions to which he was personally opposed? Freeing the Director from the necessity of chairing the Academic Board would reduce the role strain. In a tactical sense, it would give the Director more latitude to influence academic decision making creatively. When a person is in a position of direct control and authority over a group, he/she is limited in the strategies which can be employed to influence the behaviour of the group.

The Director should always be an *ex officio* member of the Board, but possibly it would be more appropriate for the Board to elect, for a set period, a chairman from its own membership, who should then be an *ex officio* member of Council. Such an arrangement would have the further advantage of divorcing, in the minds of members, management functions from academic ones, and it would help to reinforce the symbolic role of the Board as an autonomous centre for creative and responsible decision making.

GIAE's multi-disciplinary degree structure already allows for a great deal of academic integration and co-operation. This structure, coupled with a stronger and improved system of academic decision making, may help members of GIAE to pursue the basic task of teaching and learning with a greater degree of cohesion and creativity than that which exists at present. While the fundamental purpose of this research was not to present in detail new structural arrangements, the above general suggestions which follow from the analysis of the research may help better to align the governance of the institution with its intrinsic academic purpose.

PART IV

THE INSTITUTION IN ITS EXOGENOUS ENVIRONMENT

9

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE IN THE CONTEXT OF ENVIRONMENTAL AND HISTORICAL INFLUENCES

> Their's not to make reply,
> Their's not to reason why,
> Their's but to do and die:
> Into the valley of Death
> Rode the six hundred.
>
> Cannon to the right of them
> Cannon to the left of them,
> Cannon in front of them
> Volley'd and thunder'd.
>
> Into the jaws of Death,
> Into the mouth of Hell.
>
> When can their glory fade?
> O the wild charge they made!
> All the world wonder'd.
>
> Alfred Lord Tennyson from
> 'The Charge of the Light Brigade'

The structural web in which GIAE is placed extends well beyond the boundaries of the Gippsland region. So far, it has been shown how some of the unintended consequences of CAE development, coupled with certain regional factors, have had a significant impact on GIAE's endogenous environment. While still claiming the personalities, world views, past experiences, and professional orientations of individuals as a fundamental reference point, the analysis has attempted to show that internal strain was also the result of deeper and more ubiquitous social forces. This section directs attention to how such forces affect the Institute in its exogenous environment.

Introduction

Because of sectoral rivalry between CAEs, TAFE institutions, and the universities, changing enrolment patterns, political pressures, and the need to avoid wasteful overlap and to secure the greatest advantage possible from scarce resources, there have been various attempts to co-ordinate and rationalize tertiary education within Victoria. The numerous committees which have inquired into advanced education, along with the impact of their reports on government policy, have had a profound effect upon the system.

The structure of the advanced education system itself has helped initiate forces for change. However, a thorough understanding of how these forces have helped shape the development of GIAE is impossible without reference to the nature and structure of the Institute's host-region—particularly that of the Latrobe Valley. Part II presented a general analysis of the place which GIAE occupies within the social fabric of the Latrobe Valley. Chapter 3 attempted to show how the history of the Latrobe Valley has been shaped by the coal extraction/power generation industry, and how these activities have influenced the structure and character of local institutions. Chapter 4 developed this theme further, arguing that the social, economic and administrative structure of the Valley created a situation where people envisaged a close link between development in the power generation industry and the need for technological education. Though this link was traced back to the 1920s, the task now is to show how these very same forces still shape the structure and character of GIAE, and how they influence state-wide movements to change advanced education.

The Partridge Report

By 1976, the Victorian Government had become very aware of the need for rationalization of post-secondary education in the State. At that time, Victoria had established 15 VIC colleges, nine SCV colleges, 31 major and minor TAFE colleges, and four universities. The Government was also aware of the problems involved with having two co-ordinating authorities: the VIC and the SCV. On 29 July 1976 the government announced the creation of two committees, a Ministerial Committee specifically to examine the relationship between the SCV and the VIC, and the Partridge committee to explore and make recommendations on the whole of post-secondary education within the State.

The Ministerial Committee formed to investigate SCV/VIC relationships had little impact on the system, though it did foreshadow the TAFE/CAE rivalry which would play an important role in the deliberations of the Partridge committee. The report of the Ministerial Committee stated:

> In the VIC area declining demand for tertiary education in the technologies has been met by diverting effort to the liberal arts and, in more recent times, to a revival of interest in two-year post-sixth form diplomas in technologies. This latter activity overlaps in some measure with Technical and Further Education courses and is the cause of some disquiet in that quarter.[1]

In its submission to the Committee, the VIC suggested amalgamation of the two bodies, while the SCV opposed amalgamation and suggested instead an independent co-ordinating authority (Woods, 1978, pp.371–4). The Ministerial Committee reported to the Victorian Government on 9 December 1976, and suggested the establishment of an interim non-statutory co-ordinating committee, rather than amalgamation of the two bodies, so as not to pre-empt the recommendations of the Post-Secondary Education Committee. It seems, however, that the co-ordinating committee never met. The main thrust for change would come from the Partridge committee.[2] The Report of the Partridge committee was tabled in the Victorian State Parliament in early 1978. The principal recommendation was that the government create a single Victorian Post-Secondary Education Commission (VPSEC) and that:

> . . . the separate administration of the Victoria Institute of Colleges and the State College of Victoria be formally discontinued at the time of the establishment of the Post-Secondary Education Commission. (ch.9, p.12)

The Victorian government was quick to react to the Committee's principal recommendation. Legislation to establish VPSEC was introduced into the House on 18 April 1978, and the House passed an amended post-secondary education bill on 10 May 1978. The legislation, however, provided only for the establishment of VPSEC, and the recommendation that the VIC and SCV be dismantled was referred to the new Commission for further consideration.

At the time, it looked as if the SCV and the VIC might be retained in one form or another. The death blow was dealt to both bodies by the Commonwealth Government on 9 June 1978. The Federal Minister for Education announced in a statement on guidelines for the TEC that from 1 January 1979 the Commonwealth Government would no longer fund CAE state co-ordinating authorities (Woods, 1978, p.389). In July 1979 VPSEC recommended that 'at a date to be proclaimed by order of the Governor-in-Council, the Victoria Institute of Colleges Act . . . and the State College of Victoria Act . . . be repealed'. The last of the VIC legislation was repealed at the end of 1980.

Besides the principal recommendation, the Partridge committee put forward a number of other proposals which dramatically affected the rural CAEs in general and GIAE in particular. It may be worthwhile to extract from the Report details on recommendations directly affecting GIAE.

Teacher Education

The Partridge Committee supported teacher education (though at a reduced level of student enrolment) at Deakin University, Ballarat CAE and Bendigo CAE. With regard to GIAE and Warrnambool Institute of Advanced Education, the Committee stated:

> [They] have less certain futures in the teacher education field. Full-time numbers in the secondary teacher education courses at Gippsland . . . are so small that the Committee has recommended that the course be discontinued . . . although the position is complicated by the relatively large external enrolment. In the primary teacher field the numbers of full-time students in both institutions are small . . . and the Committee has doubt regarding the continuation of these courses although again large external enrolments complicate the issue. (ch.4, pp.52–3)

The Committee did not recommend that the courses in the two institutions be phased out immediately.

Engineering

The Partridge committee established a sub-committee to investigate engineering education, and based its recommendations on the report of the sub-committee.[3] Engineering education in Victoria was complicated by three factors. First, there was a dispute between the TAFE and CAE sectors over which group of colleges should be allowed to control para-professional middle-level engineering education at certificate or UG3 associate diploma level. Certificates are two-year post Year 11 courses, taught in TAFE colleges, while the designation UG3, is used by the ACAAE for courses in CAEs of two year full-time or the equivalent part-time study post HSC or Year 12. Second, the Institution of Engineers (the professional body controlling the employment of engineers) had imposed its 1980 rule. Up to 1980, a person with a three-year diploma (UG2) in engineering was eligible for membership of the Institution, but after 1980 membership would require a four-year degree course (UG1) in engineering. Thus, the three-year diploma was being phased out. Third, manpower forecasting with regard to national requirements for professional engineers was unreliable. The committee reported that 'there is a significant level of unemployment and under-employment of graduate engineers in Australia as a whole and in Victoria'. It stated its belief that manpower needs were for middle-level and sub-professional engineers rather than for professional engineers. By the beginning of 1979, however, all national newspapers were running articles about the severe shortage of professional engineers in Australia.

The committee concluded that of the four engineering schools in regional CAEs, only the School at Ballarat should be further developed and expanded. It suggested that engineering activities at Bendigo and Warrnambool be phased out and that Deakin University be restricted to teaching the first two years of an engineering degree. With regard to GIAE, the committee stated that 'the viability of engineering as an academic discipline in the Gippsland Institute was doubtful' (ch.8, pp.22–3); and the committee 'was obliged to conclude that engineering teaching should be restricted to two years of the . . . degree course with feeder arrangements to metropolitan schools'. The committee strongly supported the activities of YTC, since 'the College has the important task of training the large numbers of middle and lower level technicians required by the State Electricity Commission and other employers'.

Rationalization and External Studies

The committee made its main recommendations on external teaching in its chapter entitled 'Rationalisation of post-secondary institutions in Victoria'. Competition between the CAEs and the universities and between individual CAEs was a 'specifically Victorian development' (ch.8, p.4). There was an over-provision of tertiary education places, particularly with regard to science and education courses in the CAEs, and 'one of the main problems of the immediate future in planning the development of the post-secondary system will be discovering effective ways of shifting some resources from the tertiary to the sub-tertiary sectors' (p.7). The committee was particularly apprehensive over the competition between CAEs and universities for the same pool of students:

> In external studies Deakin University's proposals, including its plan to establish a network of 'study centres' in country locations, are seen as a threat by some non-metropolitan colleges not only to their own external studies programs but even to their continuing capacity to enrol full-time or part-time internal students. (p.4)

In attempting to rationalize institutional competition, the committee fell back on the traditional distinction between universities and

CAEs. The committee discussed the different functions of the two sectors as they had been defined by the AUC (1972), and concluded that 'within the changed economic environment of post-secondary education it may become more rather than less important that the colleges should be able to provide a genuine alternative to the type of tertiary education offered by the universities' (ch.8, p.6). The committee also reinforced the status distinctions between the sectors by referring to the type of student which should be attracted to each sector, but now a tripartite rather than a binary distinction was drawn. The colleges should still 'provide opportunities for many students whose qualifications fail to gain them admission to a university' (ch.8, p.7). The Committee implied that some of the colleges were enrolling students with very poor qualifications in order to keep their numbers up, and that some students who were better suited to TAFE courses were being diverted into CAEs. Currently there are fears that TAFE institutions are starting to seek higher entry standards for some courses, thus attempting to up-grade their status and prestige in Australia's hierarchical structure of tertiary education.

What is clear from the Report is that its authors thought some institutions were far more capable of offering higher education courses and of attracting students, than others. The committee believed that the future of what was considered to be the weaker institutions, of which GIAE was one, lay in the transfer of staff and financial resources to the TAFE sector:

> The regional CAEs at Gippsland and Warrnambool share certain common characteristics in that the original base of technological courses has been or is likely to be eroded, and in that reliance is being placed on external courses as a means of maintaining enrolments.

The Report concluded that 'both colleges face an uncertain future as purely tertiary institutions' and that Warrnambool should be designated as a 'regional multi-level college for post-school teaching'. However, the Committee feared that a similar role for GIAE might disturb teaching at YTC 'because the Yallourn Technical College plays a very important specialized role in training middle-level certificate personnel in engineering fields to meet the substantial needs of the State Electricity Commission'. The Committee insisted that 'these activities should not be jeopardised'.

What the Committee considered to be the respective academic strengths and weaknesses of the various institutions also influenced the recommendation that Deakin University should be the principal provider of external studies in Victoria. The Report noted that in a discussion with the VIC's External Studies Committee and the four directors of the regional colleges, the point was argued that Deakin should not be seen as the state co-ordinating authority for external studies, but only as one institution among equals. The Committee rejected this argument as a 'counsel of despair': 'Deakin University should be recognized as being the major centre for tertiary level external studies leading to degree or diploma awards throughout Victoria.' (ch.8, pp.27–8)

While the Victorian Government was prepared to establish the Post-Secondary Education Commission, it chose to refer all of the other Partridge recommendations to that Commission. The Report was subject to strong criticism in both the Commonwealth and Victorian Parliaments, and GIAE and the other regional colleges were instrumental in mobilizing political opinion against the Report.

Reactions to the Partridge Report

Members of GIAE were not totally against the recommendations of the Partridge Report. The Council formally welcomed the proposals to set up a post-secondary education commission and for closer CAE/TAFE relations. Neither the staff nor members of Council were prepared for the recommendations which adversely affected the internal operations of the Institute. People knew that the Committee would be making hard decisions with regard to educational rationalization, but no one within the Institute realized how dramatically those decisions would affect the regional colleges.

The Institute was thrown into a panic in the first few days following the Report's publication. The first reaction by Institute members was to consider how they could comply with the recommendations and still survive. It was the Community Services Officer who suggested that the Institute reject outright the proposals relating to engineering, education and external studies, and that they fight the recommendations politically and publicly. The Director observed that it was Homes who suggested a press release stating that the Gippsland region might lose the Institute. Hopper commented: 'I do not know how true this was, but it had the desired effect'.[4]

The committee's recommendations were seen to favour the TAFE colleges over the CAEs, urban institutions over regional ones, and the universities over the CAEs. This allowed the sectors worst hit—such as the regional colleges—to unite and mount an effective campaign against the committee's recommendations. The Committee did not sufficiently appreciate the significance of the commitment by all political parties to decentralisation and regionalism.

Members of the Institute based their campaign against the Partridge Report on two principles: that GIAE was a regional college, and the only higher education institution east of Melbourne, and that GIAE served the local industries involved in the unique and essential mineral resource and energy developments of the Latrobe Valley. On the 22 March 1978 an article entitled 'GIAE may close' appeared in the *Latrobe Valley Express*. The article stated that the Partridge Report 'in essence, recommends the scaling down of Gippsland and other regional colleges . . . to prop up the ailing Deakin University at Geelong.'

The local press took up the cause of the Institute, running articles favourable to GIAE and making editorial statements, such as 'GIAE must be saved' (LVE, 29 March 1978). The Director, President of Council, and the Community Services Officer were quick to mobilize the support of local politicians—particularly those belonging to the Country and Liberal Parties. Victoria had a Liberal Party government, and a Liberal/National Party coalition was in power at the federal level.

On 31 March a public meeting of Gippsland representatives (local members of state and federal parliaments, GIAE Director, GIAE President of Council, and members of municipal councils and chambers of commerce) was held at Morwell. It was jointly convened by Mr Barry Simon, the then Liberal MHR for McMillan, and Mr Peter Nixon, National Party MHR for Gippsland and a member of Federal Cabinet. In publicizing the meeting, the headline in the local press stated, 'Libs Act to Prevent Damage to GIAE' (LVE, 29 March 1978). The article state that Mr Simon told the Express that the Institute, rather than being cut back, should be developing. 'In fact, it should be the Victorian centre for engineering education.'

At the public meeting held in Morwell, Partridge and his committee were criticized for never formally visiting the Institute, for taking insufficient account of the significance of the industrial development in the Latrobe Valley, for underestimating the future needs of engineering graduates, and for favouring Deakin University and the metropolitan institutions at the expense of the regional colleges.

On 28 March, the Board of Principals of Victoria's CAEs expressed 'grave disappointment with the Partridge Report' (LVE, 29 March 1978). In late March at a meeting of local government authorities in Portland, the Prime Minister stated that 'Deakin should not expand at the expense of other educational institutions, especially the Warrnambool Institute of Advanced Education' (*Geelong Advertiser*, 1 April 1978). The Prime Minister comes from the Western District in which Warrnambool is located. On 7 April 1978 Simon asked the Prime Minister in the House of Representatives if he would give an assurance that the Commonwealth Government would 'make its views known to the State Government and to the [TEC] . . . on its policy of decentralization and what place the post-secondary education institutes play in provincial areas in Victoria'. In reply, the Prime Minister stated:

> I think it would be most unfortunate if any decisions were taken or views adopted that would lead to the loss of viability of the decentralized colleges throughout Victoria, which have had to build up their numbers and their courses, sometimes against quite strong opposition from other institutions which are entrenched and of much longer standing.
> This Government has supported the decentralized institutions not only in Victoria but also throughout Australia over a long period.
> It would want to continue to do so and not want to take any action that might weaken those institutions.[5]

The Victorian Liberal Government had no choice but to respond to the concentration of public opinion and political pressure on the Partridge Report. On 10 May 1978 the *Traralgon Journal* ran the headline, 'Hamer Saves GIAE':

> In a major speech in Morwell . . . the Premier, Mr Hamer, said there would be no cutback in the operations of the GIAE.
> He said that, irrespective of the recommendations of the Partridge Report, the GIAE would not only continue, but would play an important role in the government's strategy to develop the Latrobe Valley as a major industrial base . . .
> He spoke of the importance of Loy Yang and the conversion of brown coal to oil, and linked the GIAE in with the development.

The political activities in relation to the Partridge Report helped to secure the position of the Institute in its environment—at least for the time being. Institute members, however, were not complacent with their political victory. The Community Services Officer continued to further the security of the organization by fostering closer links between the Institute and the SEC and other local industries, through stating the significance of the mineral resources boom in the Latrobe Valley, and by emphasizing the role which the Institute could play in the boom. This was done through press releases, addresses to local schools and other public forums, and by continuing to solicit support for the Institute from various politicians.

While the specific proposals affecting GIAE were not adopted, the Report of the Partridge committee still had a profound effect upon the Institute. For example, Institute leaders began to look more closely to the SEC and other local industries for support, which in turn moved the Institute, as a whole, closer to the aims and wishes of these industrial institutions. GIAE was able to resist the Partridge proposals not only because it was a regional college, but also because it could argue its position in relation to the significance of the mineral resources development of the Latrobe Valley. Institute leaders would come to see the future of GIAE as one where the institution had to serve more directly the interests of industry, and view courses in the liberal arts area more as a liability than as an asset.

Aftermath and Adaptation

Organizations adapt to their environment in various ways, and the power structure within the organization is contingent, to a degree, upon powerful influences in the exogenous environment. Selznick (1949) in his classic study, *The TVA and the Grass Roots*, discusses a slightly different phenomenon. He describes a situation where an organization faced with influential local protagonists devised the strategy of including external critics in the internal management of the organization. This strategy was intended to neutralize local opposition to the aims and goals of the TVA. However, the strategy also had its unintended consequences. Once local critics had power and influence within the organization, they helped to change its very aims and goals, and thus the organization itself. In Gippsland, once the 'dust settled' after the release of the Partridge Report, members of GIAE questioned the nature of their relationship with certain powerful figures in the local community, and they started to devise strategies for neutralizing local criticism.

During the political battle against the Partridge committee, the SEC came to the aid of the Institute. The Director commented that the SEC and other local industries were shocked that the region could actually lose the Institute. But members of GIAE also questioned how the Partridge committee, in forming their recommendations, could ignore the need for technologically based courses at GIAE in a region where there existed industries as large and influential as the SEC, APM and Esso-BHP. Was all not well between the Institute and local industry, particularly with the SEC? Some of the specific comments of the Partridge Report are rather telling in this regard:

> A sampling of local public and private industry disclosed a definite although limited interest in the Institute for collaborative investigations

> and as a reference base. The interest however was predominantly in the field of applied science rather than engineering.
> It was established clearly to the Committee that requirements for technical staff in the area were chiefly at the middle and lower levels and for these purposes local training was preferred. For higher levels of training this was not necessarily the case. (ch.5, pp.22–3)

Clearly, the Partridge committee saw the future need with regard to engineering in the Latrobe Valley in relation to certificate level courses in the TAFE college, and based this observation on local opinion. In attempting to arrive at precise figures, the Report stated:

> In a particular new area of operation (the Loy Yang development) production and personnel executives of the State Electricity Commission indicated that over the next decade some 700–800 middle and technician level employees would be required but only about 40–50 professional engineers. While not necessarily representative of public and private industry generally, this opinion pointed to the need for adequate development of certificate of technology courses and perhaps some reduced emphasis on professional courses.

After the publication of the Report, the Acting Secretary of the SEC (based in Melbourne) wrote to Partridge in order to correct the above figures:

> These figures are not correct and we cannot identify any Commission source of them. Our planning schedule of staff posts for the operation and maintenance of the Loy Yang project shows by June 1987 we required 59 additional professional engineers and 125 sub-professional (technical officers) . . .
> You will see that the numbers in your Report are considerably different from our actual requirements and we believe they should be corrected.[6]

The Partridge sub-committee on engineering had interviewed two members of the SEC, and the Chairman of the sub-committee and other members had visited both GIAE and YTC. Buchanan, Deputy Chairman of the full Partridge committee, had visited the Latrobe Valley with the Williams committee. It was surprising that the Committee could be so incorrect with its figures. In replying to the Acting Secretary's letter, Buchanan stated that 'the numbers quoted in the report were provided to the committee by local SEC staff members during the course of a visit to the Yallourn Technical College'.[7]

One of the Valley's most influential and publicly active citizens, Mr George Bates, Area Manager (Administration) of the SEC, was, at the time of the Partridge inquiry, the Chairman of the Regional TAFE Board, and heavily involved with YTC. While personnel from the SEC and other local industries have always been represented on the College Council, in interviews concerning the impact of the Partridge Report on GIAE, several key informants noted that the Report had heightened their awareness of the need to involve such people as Bates more actively in Institute affairs. Institute leaders saw the need to move the Institute closer to the interests and requirements of local industry, and in 1981 Bates became a member of GIAE's Council. While such activities may have helped to secure the position of the Institute in its environment, they have also had a significant influence on the organization's goals and objectives.

In an interview, Bates explained that as a major employer he had to be involved with education at both the CAE and TAFE levels.[8] He commented that, since he had the responsibility of securing the manpower for Latrobe Valley developments, he had more than a passing interest in the Institute. He stated, however, that before the Report's release he believed that the Institute did not have the proper regard for the support it really needed—that is, from industry; but that the Partridge Report 'blew this attitude all to pieces'.

After the publication of the Report, Bates argued strongly for the retention of engineering at GIAE. He said that, if engineering had not remained at the Institute, then there would probably have been no Institute, and that the future of the college and SEC developments in the Latrobe Valley were very closely linked. Bates also explained that in the past he had some reservations about the Institute. First, while he had tried to foster closer links between the SEC and the Institute in terms of engineering activities, his initiatives were not, according to Bates, well received by members of the School of Engineering. He tried to stress to the School of Engineering that they had to do much more public relations work in order to demonstrate the relevance of the degree structure to institutions like the SEC. However he said members of the School did not take his comments seriously.

The second reason for dissatisfaction was over the failure of a transformer at Yallourn. Its failure, according to Bates, presented a very interesting engineering problem which would probably never occur again. He asked the GIAE engineering staff to have a look at it, but they showed no interest. 'Their attitude', said Bates, 'was one of we will call you, don't you call us'.

Lastly, Bates was not satisfied with the academic orientation of the foundation Dean of Engineering, Dr Brent Groves. Bates saw Groves as 'more of a controls man who wanted to pursue pure theoretical problems'. According to Bates, he was not interested in the practical needs of the SEC. As an example, Bates referred to the fact that the SEC provided time release and support for their employees to study at the Institute. They did this for people who saw a career structure for themselves within the SEC and could fit in with the SEC organization. On two occasions, according to Bates, Groves criticized the SEC for 'moulding people's careers to suit industrial needs', rather than the needs of the individual. He referred to one case where Groves had encouraged a student to do higher degree work in Melbourne. 'One of our lads, after completing a course at the Institute', Bates stated, 'wanted to go on and do a Masters in Melbourne in electrical controls'. The SEC refused. 'we paid for his course and expected him to fit back into our organization. He resigned, but later asked to come back'.

Since the release of the Partridge Report, Bates has participated both formally and informally in furthering the interest of the Institute. Informally, he has made many public statements which emphasize the extent of the industrial development in the Latrobe Valley and the role which the Institute can play in providing the manpower and other support services for this development. Moreover, he has had a good deal of interaction with, and influence on, Institute leaders. Formally, Bates became the Chairman of the Institute's Course Advisory Committee in Engineering.

Once VPSEC was established, an Engineering Education Working Party was formed under the Chairmanship of VPSEC's Deputy-Chairman, Dr J. Watson.[9] The GIAE Course Advisory Committee in Engineering had the job of ensuring that the course would be favourably reviewed by the Working Party.

The Working Party visited GIAE on 30 April 1980. Members inspected facilities and met with the Director, the Chairman of the Course Advisory Committee, two members of Council with engineering backgrounds, the Dean of Engineering and Applied Sciences, and the Head of the School of Engineering. During the course of the visit, Watson indicated that the members of the Institute could rest assured that engineering would continue at GIAE. He also questioned the Director with regard to internal allocation of funds and other resources among the various schools.[10] The Director replied that the survival of Gippsland Institute depended on the survival of the School of Engineering, and that whatever needed to be done to protect engineering would be done. At the meeting of the Course Advisory Committee following the visit of the Working Party, Bates noted the significance of the Director's comments.[11]

The VPSEC Working Party which issued Part I of its report in October 1980, realized that since the Partridge Committee's Report the situation with regard to engineering had changed at both the state and national levels. For this reason, it saw no need to re-examine the employment figures of professional engineers advanced by the Committee. The Working Party went on to mention the power and proposed coal-to-oil developments in the Latrobe Valley and that 'these developments appear to provide an assured base need for electrical engineers well into the future'(p.9).

It was quite remarkable that a school which seemed to have a dim future in 197[illegible] was in a secure position by 1980. Several events coincided to help save the School of Engineering at GIAE, not the least of which was the conscious effort by certain members of the Institute to involve the SEC and other local industries more actively in Institute affairs. This involvement generated a significant degree of support for the Institute, but it has also initiated a process which may culminate in the organization changing its basic image and goals. In the early 1970s it seemed the future of GIAE lay in the direction of developing non-technological subjects—in expansion, diversification and outreach. Less than 10 years later the future is being defined in terms of consolidation around the technologies—particularly engineering. Many members of the SEC believe that the primary role of GIAE is to train professional manpower for the Latrobe Valley developments. For example, Bates, who completed a diploma of engineering at YTC in 1952, believed that the Institute would not exist if it was not for the teaching of engineering. Institute leaders have, to a degree, come to see the institution in the same light.

While Institute leaders are currently emphasizing development in science and technology, this involves more than a question of balance among the various schools. The phenomenon can either be regarded as a fundamental switch in priorities for survival purposes, or as the resurrection of a past image. As was discussed in Chapter 4, the YTC was built upon a technological world view which has dominated the Latrobe Valley at least since the 1920s. In terms of the complete history of GIAE, it is the developments between 1970 and 1978 in the non-technological areas which present the incongruity.

The various external sociological factors which impinge upon the change in priorities and aims require thorough investigation; for, looking only at the internal operation of the Institute, it would seem unlikely that organizational leaders would want to transfer resources to the technologies now. Running technology courses costs a good deal more per student than does teaching in the non-technological areas. In a climate of steady state funding, increased activity in the technologies places extra strain on the organization. At the moment, the School of Engineering and Applied Science are small-scale operations. In 1980, total EFT enrolments in both schools combined, accounted for only 16 per cent of all GIAE enrolments. The first year full-time student intake for engineering courses was 31 in 1977. The figures fell to 16 and 18 in 1978 and 1979 respectively. In 1980 the first year full-time intake was only 32 students.[12] Moreover, while some increase can be expected, there is no evidence to suggest that there will be a dramatic increase in the number of students seeking entry to GIAE engineering or applied science courses in the near future. For one thing, the base population of Year 12 students in the Gippsland region with mathematics/science prerequisites for entry to technological subjects is limited. Applied science, in terms of its full-time student intake, is in a worse position than engineering. The federal education authorities have yet to approve funding for GIAE's four million dollar technology building to be built on the Churchill campus. Engineering has remained a two-campus operation, with laboratory classes taught 30 kilometres away from the main campus, in cramped surroundings and with equipment which requires upgrading and modernization. Thus, given the internal circumstances, the essential sociological question is: why have institutional leaders chosen to emphazise the technologies now?

It has been shown already that the Institute needed to give more emphasis to the technologies in defending itself against the Partridge Report, and that the Council on Advanced Education has reiterated the philosophy that courses in the CAEs must be vocational and applied. In the first volume of the 1981 TEC Report (August 1981), the Council on Advanced Education stated its belief that there would be a declining demand in teacher education, and no growth in the humanities and social sciences in the colleges for the 1982–84 triennium. The Report also forecast 'modest growth' in the areas of business/commerce and science/technology subjects, and suggested the transfer of resources saved through declining teacher education enrolments to these areas.

These factors provide only a partial explanation of why Institute leaders have chosen to advance the technologies over certain other areas at this time. The CAE sector has been based on a philosophy of vocational and applied courses from the very beginning, and, GIAE has always supported engineering and applied science courses as part of its commitment to a multipurpose educational program. The Council on Advanced Education has maintained the philosophy that country colleges require a mandate to offer a broader range of courses than that which applies to metropolitan institutions. While teacher education quotas were being cut in the metropolitan institutions, GIAE was given a quota increase in teacher education from 350 to 500 EFT for the 1982–84 triennium. Thus GIAE is not in a position to recoup savings from a wind-down of activities in teacher education. Any redistribution of resources within the Institute is in the nature of a zero sums game. Some members believe that the switch in emphasis and the accompanying redistribution of resources has once again put the B.A. degree under severe threat.

Clearly, the guidelines laid down by the TEC and the state co-ordinating authority have a direct impact upon the Institute. However, the degree of emphasis which Institute leaders are giving now to the sciences and technologies results from more than TEC guidelines. The Institute does not merely respond to the suggestions of educational authorities. It actively participates, to a degree, in the formulation of those suggestions by supplying VPSEC with information on proposed student quotas and staffing levels in each area. The Institute is restrained by frameworks set elsewhere, but, as has been demonstrated, the Institute has been able to challenge successfully external decisions which grossly conflict with internal interests.

While the guidelines laid down by the TEC and other co-ordinating authorities for CAE development clearly have an effect upon the Institute, the switch of emphasis to the sciences and technologies at GIAE needs to be understood in relation to additional, more immediate factors: how the notion of growth and development operates in the Latrobe Valley in conjunction with the activities of the SEC, and the power of symbol and myth in relation to how some people regard the mineral resources boom.

Mineral Resources Development, Social Control, and the State Electricity Commission

One of the predominant features of the Latrobe Valley, as Puffin (1975) indicates, is that people have always believed that significant economic growth and development is just around the corner. Moreover, this belief is linked with the activities of the SEC. People have observed that, when the SEC mounts new projects, more people are attracted to the Valley and the local economy is stimulated—at least for some. Since the 1920s, people have expected the transformation of the Valley into the Ruhr of Australia, but the reality has never lived up to people's expectations, and one wonders when this transformation is going to occur. The expectation is that mineral and energy resource development will spill over into other sectors of the economy. By and large this has not happened within the Latrobe Valley, at least not on a continued and sustained basis.

When the SEC builds new power stations, local businesses involved with the construction industry benefit. As a result of the Loy Yang project, the Valley has experienced an inflation of the wages paid to construction workers, which increases the dependence of both labour and business on SEC activities. Because of the high wages paid by SEC contractors, it is difficult for businesses involved in other sectors of the economy to retain labour—particularly adult males. Even the SEC loses many of its own apprentices and skilled workers to local contractors during the construction phase of power stations (see SEC, 1981). Some members of the community outside the mining/energy sector—such as real estate speculators—reap large rewards from development projects. However, all research done on the Latrobe Valley draws the conclusion that both the local economy and social structure are dominated by government and semi-government activities.

While the above factors help to sustain peoples' belief in growth and development, it is the case, as was discussed in Chapter 3, that the Latrobe Valley lacks a well-developed economic and social infrastructure. Development within the mining/energy sector has largely been confined to that sector, without producing the simultaneous growth and development in all sectors of the economy as people expected.

None the less, the belief in spontaneous economic growth and development linked with mining/energy production activities remains a powerful force within the Valley. During 1980 people throughout Australia were anticipating massive economic development based on the resources boom, and believed that the only factor which would retard development was the lack of skilled manpower. The Liberal government in Victoria was staking its political future on resources development and attracting to the State such energy intensive transnational industries as the ALCOA aluminium smelting plant. Some economists and other observers (for example, see Davidson, 1980; *The National Times*, 9 to 15 November 1980; Richardson, 1980; Swan, 1981) were asserting that:

> the minerals/energy resources boom was more myth than reality;
> the activities of multi-national corporations were highly dependent upon a fluctuating world economy;
> the introduction of new technologies would exacerbate Australia's rising unemployment;
> the history of the Australian economy was one of boom and bust; and
> the SEC had agreed to provide ALCOA with electricity at a cost per unit less than the cost of production (thus ALCOA would be subsidized by the taxpayer).

Such observations, however, did not dampen enthusiasm for the belief in resources development. It was government policy to attract industries like ALCOA—and politicians believed that such new developments would solve the State's and the nation's economic and employment problems. Development plans for the Latrobe Valley were based not only on predictions of energy demands in relation to existing activities, but also on the belief that many more energy intensive industries would be established in the State. In February 1980 the Victorian Government announced the establishment of a Ministerial Council to plan and oversee development in the Latrobe Valley, and released the following statement:

> The Latrobe Valley differs from the rest of the State because of the unique nature and magnitude of its resources and by the extremely large scale of the developments currently in progress and planned for the future . . .
> While the projects at present under construction are large by Australian, and indeed by world standards, they may well be dwarfed by projects likely to be undertaken during the next two or three decades . . .
> The probability of an entirely new energy industry—oil from coal—being established in the region is high and if it proceeds this project alone could more than quadruple the current rate of brown coal extraction.[13]

In July 1980 the SEC Task Force released its report detailing electricity generation requirements for the next 50 years. The Report foreshadowed the building of a new power station in the near future at Driffield—equal or larger than the Loy Yang project, and discussed 21 possible sites for power stations and open-cuts to be developed as required. The report of the Task Force and subsequent statements by SEC representatives, consultative bodies, politicians, etc. predicted huge, almost unimaginable developments. massive population increases, and demands for additional labour which ranged from 24 000 to 45 000 workers. In monetary terms, current and imminent developments were worth eight billion dollars. If a full-scale coal-to-oil conversion project was to be implemented, then it was generally regarded that this figure would at least be doubled.

The report's release threw local institutions and citizens alike into a panic. Bodies such as the Town and Country Planning Board, the police, local welfare agencies, etc. held joint meetings to discuss how they were to cater for the proposed huge population increase and the resulting social problems and need for social services. Development was the topic of conversation throughout the Valley. People envisaged, some with enthusiasm others with regret, the creation of brown holes all around them. Some people looked forward with anticipation to the rapid growth of towns like Churchill from 5000 people to 25 000 or 30 000, even to 100 000 people. Others lamented the demise of small hamlets and the rural landscape. Some of the more sombre members of the community asked how the SEC was going to pay for 21 power stations when it seemed it was having difficulty in even raising enough capital to complete the building of Loy Yang. At the time of the report's release, few seemed to doubt that it was all going to happen, and happen with a speed they never dreamt possible.

Clearly, the SEC is the most powerful organization within the Valley. There are other significant local industries—such as the APM—which are capable of wielding economic, political and social power. If it was not for SEC developments, the structure, nature and character of the Latrobe Valley would be entirely different from what it is today. There is no other single organization which can lay claim to this degree of influence.

However, the power of the SEC within the Valley is not merely a function of its size. Much of its influence emanates from the fact that it holds to an ideology of growth and development, which too is accepted by a significant proportion of the local population. Because of the paramount economic and social position of the organization in the Valley over many decades, an attitude has developed within both the organization and the local community that what is good for the SEC is good for the Latrobe Valley. The people of the Latrobe Valley, lacking a well-developed social and economic infrastructure look at the facilities and services of the metropolitan and better-developed regional centres with envy. But the feeling of local deprivation does not dampen people's belief in growth and development.

With the State and nation as a whole emphasizing the significance of the mineral/energy resources boom and the prospects of a coming energy crisis, the power of the SEC to influence other local institutions has been greatly increased. The SEC's approach to development is largely a technical one and, though its members maintain an interest in local educational facilities, they are primarily concerned with the production of skilled and professional technical manpower. During the period of field research, representatives of the SEC addressed several public forums, and stressed to parents that, if their children were going to be able to take advantage of the development boom in the Latrobe Valley, they had to study mathematics and science while at school, and pursue a career in the technologies. At such meetings, members of the audience asked other questions. For example, one person put the case that proposed and current developments, beyond the construction stage, were largely capital intensive and based on imported technologies. He asked whether, given these factors, representatives of the SEC and others who supported mineral/energy resources development were not being overly optimistic in promising satisfying employment opportunities for all who pursued a career in engineering and related technological professions. Those who represented the position of resources development often found such questions puzzling. They seemed to think that it was self-evident that any proposed technological industry in the billion-dollar class would automatically produce numerous employment opportunities. In such debates, however, precise details with regard to future manpower requirements were never provided.

The SEC has a great deal of influence--both manifest and latent—on the behaviour of people and institutions within the Latrobe Valley. While some members of the local community believe that the SEC's power to control events in the Valley is absolute, this is clearly not the case. In terms of community power, the local SEC should be seen more as an instrument of social control and influence which is used by decision makers based elsewhere, than seen as an organization with sole authority. The Commission's Head Office in Melbourne plans the rate of development of power stations. Moreover, Commission planners themselves respond to political and economic decisions made elsewhere, and must themselves comply with the overall rhetoric and political policies of growth and development.

In some respects, Puffin (1975) is correct when he claims that the Latrobe Valley is the colony of the metropolis. Activities within the Valley are dependent upon decisions made elsewhere. However, it is questionable whether people in the Latrobe Valley have any less control over their immediate environment than residents of any other part of Australia. The literature on urban planning, for example, paints a rather pessimistic picture of the degree of power that urban residents, particularly lower income ones, have over what happens to their neighbourhoods and communities. The Latrobe Valley is probably unusual in terms of the magnitude of the development which occurs as a result of decisions over which local residents have little control or influence.

Because of the structural nature of the Latrobe Valley, there are no significant institutions to act as a counter-balance *vis-a-vis* the energy/natural resources oriented industries. The local government municipalities are more likely to fight among themselves than to unite to provide social planning and a coherent and strong response to the less beneficial (both social and environmental) aspects of industrial development. Although other local institutions, like the Town and Country Planning Board, do participate in local social planning, they are themselves regional offices of state instrumentalities, and are limited in their capability to provide an objective critique of local developments. The people of the Latrobe Valley are dependent upon bureaucratic structures which are largely controlled by people external to the region, and many local residents feel that the bureaucratic structures are themselves more orientated to the significance of mineral resources than to decentralization and regional self-determination. Residents resent the fact that the principal decisions affecting the Valley are made in Melbourne and Canberra, and feel that reality runs counter to government's stated policy on decentralization. For example, in early 1980, the Premier announced that development in Central Gippsland would be overseen and co-ordinated by a three-man Latrobe Valley Ministerial Council (comprising the Premier, Planning Minister, and Minerals and Energy Minister), assisted by the Latrobe Valley Consultative Committee (comprising twelve government departmental representatives and eight non-voting municipal delegates). Many residents thought that this was a move to centralize control over their lives even further, and an editorial in the *Latrobe Valley Express* (15 April 1980) summarized many of the local sentiments:

> Obviously the sudden emphasis on coal as an energy source has overridden the niceties of democratic and public participation . . . the new Consultative Committee dominated by very senior public servants shows clearly that the committee is to act not for the Latrobe Valley but for those arms of the state government with vital interests in the Valley.

By default, the SEC has always had a distinct advantage over all other groups and organizations in the Latrobe Valley. It is the only large institution with a central organizational structure which spans all municipalities. The SEC is given state and national significance, and has direct access to State Cabinet through the Minister. It has both real and symbolic power merely through the vast sums of money it spends. GIAE is the only institution with the autonomy to act as an independent and critical forum. Members of GIAE have been active in the past in conducting social surveys in the region, and it is doubtful whether other local institutions would have either the expertise or freedom to produce Puffin's sensitive critical analysis, 'Life in the Latrobe Valley'. Following the announcements of the SEC Task Force, several public meetings were held to discuss the impact of the development plans on the Valley. At these meetings, many of the more articulate and vocal critics of the SEC plans were GIAE staff members from the non-technological areas. Many of the same people became active in the various local committees which were formed to investigate the social and environmental consequences of future industrial developments. Some of the proponents of SEC developments believed that such activities of GIAE staff members were inappropriate, particularly concerning their critical comments made at public meetings. There are those who express an enthusiasm for the mineral/energy resources boom and a belief in its beneficial effects which borders upon religious zeal, and critics are regarded as heretics.

The ideology of material and technological growth and development has been an aspect of Central Gippsland's social and cultural fabric for a number of decades. The ideology is strengthened in times of proposed industrial expansion, and somewhat weakened during periods of reduced industrial activity. Given all the activities associated with a supposed mineral resources boom in Australia generally and in the Latrobe Valley in particular, it is not surprising that some Institute members believe they have been chosen to produce the technological manpower for these developments. The emphasis which GIAE is currently giving the technologies is based on the belief, by some members, in the extent and benefits of the coming boom. On the other hand, it is no coincidence that the Institute is attempting to strengthen and expand engineering and applied sciences and reduce its dependence on the social sciences and liberal arts at a time when the major powers-that-be within the Latrobe Valley would prefer not to have any articulate and well-organized grass-roots opposition to industrial development.

Since by necessity any transfer of resources within the Institute is in the nature of a zero sums game, any major redistribution of resources will be accompanied by severe internal conflict. Part of the conflict will be based on vested group interest, but it is likely that a significant proportion of it will be based on differences in perspective and world view. It is this aspect of conflict which is the most difficult to resolve.

The Melanesian Cargo Cult and the Institute's Aims and Objectives

The process of planning within complex organizations involves much more than merely writing down major goals and aims, and then designing strategies for achieving them. The plan will, to some extent, be based on objective information: available technologies, market needs and requirements, environment constraints (political, economic, and social), and so on. It will also reflect the biases and world views of the planners. In this sense, no plan or scheme for development can be entirely objective or evaluated only in relation to empirical information. Knowledge is itself relevant to the techniques and concepts of particular times and places, and is structured by the interests and world views of those in positions of control (Bernstein, 1973; Bourdieu, 1973; Hopper, 1971; Vaughan and Archer, 1971; Williams, 1961; Young, 1971). In understanding the plans which members of GIAE are making for the future of the Institute, it is necessary to look not only at how members are attempting to translate objective criteria into institutional aims and objectives, but also at the ideological and symbolic factors which underlie the process.

Towards the end of 1980 and throughout 1981, members of the Institute started to examine the future direction of the Institute and to re-write its aims and objectives. This process was concentrated in the Director's Executive Committee. In December 1980 the Director and Executive members spent three days in isolation at a retreat hotel in Warburton to discuss the future of the Institute. This exercise was repeated in early 1981 and, throughout most of the year, every other Council meeting was devoted to a discussion of future directions. For example, in the minutes of the April 1981 meeting of Council, it was recorded:

> The Executive Committee has prepared draft documents to allow Council, with the help of the Management Committee, to identify important issues . . .
> The Director finished his opening remarks by stating that Council now has a unique opportunity to take advantage of development when advanced education authorities are giving support to expansion in the technologies. During the ensuring discussion the following points were made:
>
> - The development of professional services to the community is vital for the Institute's future . . .
> - There is no room for argument about the requirement of vocational aspects of Institute courses . . .
> - The science and technology base is the reason for the existence of the Institute.
> - The aims and objectives must be clear and unambiguous . . .
> - The aim of preparing a graduate to be able to commence work immediately after graduation implies tailoring courses where graduates get jobs and cutting down courses where graduates can't be employed . . .

- The need to consider the role of the college on the spectrum from general education to vocational training.[14]

Stating aims and objectives is not what changes or re-orientates an organization. While they serve as rationales for action, their generality allows for the justification of numerous and sometimes contradictory activities. Change is implemented through hard-headed practical decisions to strengthen or weaken particular functional areas through the allocation of financial and other resources. In this respect, Institute leaders, to a degree, are living up to their philosophy that the future of the organization lies primarily with the technologies and, to a lesser extent, with rather narrowly defined vocational training in the non-technological social science area. Student quotas are being cut in the social sciences area and expanded in engineering and applied science. It can be expected that, to some extent, the transfer of financial and staff resources will follow the transfer of student quotas.

In the past, the technologies, in relation to other areas within the Institute, have been weak, and the Partridge Report placed engineering under severe threat. Given the favourable political climate, now may well be the time to build up engineering and applied science in order to safeguard their future. However, the current discussion of GIAE's aims and objectives involves more than the equitable distribution of resources among the teaching areas, and the correction of any imbalance which may have occurred in the past. The degree to which the technologies are being given priority may well be to the exclusion of certain other activities.

In terms of Gouldner's theory, an organization turns to loyal local staff in times of threat. The technologies are not being emphasized merely because of their intrinsic merit, but also because organizational leaders believe that the process will help protect and advance the organization. Some people seem to believe that once the authorities—particularly government at state and federal level—recognize GIAE's supposedly essential role in producing manpower for Latrobe Valley developments, the Institute will be treated far more favourably in terms of financial allocations. This attitude contains a sense of outrage over government's obvious failure to provide adequate funds for the teaching of engineering at GIAE. Members' attitudes towards the technologies are also affected by various myths and symbols which they attach to growth and development and the mineral resources boom. Any substantial expansion of the technologies at GIAE cannot be easily vindicated in relation to either the current demands by students for these courses or by dramatic short-falls in the supply of professional engineers and applied scientists to local industry. There is, in the Latrobe Valley, a shortage of some categories of skilled labour, and there certainly is a local need for professional engineers and applied scientists. Presently, it seems GIAE engineering students have adequate prospects for employment, but it is questionable if the Institute should (or could, in relation to student numbers) significantly expand the output of engineering graduates. The extent of future needs is largely unknown, and will be dependent upon both economic factors and the nature of imported technologies. The more exaggerated statements on future manpower requirements are often based on speculations about the needs of industries, such as full-scale coal-to-oil conversion projects, which do not yet exist.[15]

The role of myth and symbol in people's perception of the significance of mineral resources is not confined to GIAE. Blainey (1968), for example, discusses the fact that various aspects of the Melanesian cargo cult are associated with the history of Australia's mineral policies.

The cargo cult is a singularly Melanesian phenomenon, based on the notion that material wealth can be obtained exclusively through ritual. Lawrence (1964, p.1) defines the cargo cult as the 'natives' belief that European goods (cargo) . . . are not man-made but have to be obtained from a non-human or divine source'.

Cargo movements are a combination of religious beliefs and political drives. The myth of cargo is not only an explanation of how to obtain material wealth, but is also an expression of 'its followers' dissatisfaction with their status . . . which is to be improved imminently or eventually by the acquisition of new wealth' (Lawrence, 1964, p.1). Cargo has such power as to alter existing social institutional relationships. The Melanesian villagers 'blocked from realistic economic modernization . . . devised rituals and organizational forms for attaining everything that was beyond their grasp within the structure of New Guinea's plural society' (Ryan et al., 1972, p.1049). Similar to other millenarian movements, the cult is most likely to emerge when there is 'dissatisfaction with existing social relations and of yearnings for a happier life' (Worsley, 1970, p.251).

Because of the unique nature of Melanesian belief systems, the cargo cult is distinctive to indigenous cultures. Except in the most general of terms, the idea of cargo myths cannot be usefully divorced from the sociological and epistemological conditions under which they occur. But it is often worthwhile to question our assumptions of the contemporary world by comparing them with the yearnings and beliefs of an alien culture. It is not totally far-fetched to associate cargo myths with the western assumption that continual and spontaneous economic growth and development will be sparked off by a mineral resources boom, and that this will return society to the material well-being of a bygone age.

According to Blainey (1968) Australian politicians have tended to treat mineral resources as cargo sent from the heavens, and in order to invoke another cargo they re-enact the ritual they remember as coinciding with the arrival of the last one. The thrust of his analysis is that minerals are not just natural resources—cargo sent from the heavens—but only take on economic and social significance when acted on by man. Minerals cannot by themselves be treated as cargo—brown coal or oil in the ground is not money in the bank. It requires human intervention for a mineral resource to have economic consequences. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines 'resource' as 'means of supplying a want'.

There are touches of the cargo myth in how some GIAE members regard the seams of brown coal in the Latrobe Valley and the oil deposits of Bass Strait. They believe that the mere existence of the minerals themselves will produce massive wealth, and that, by stating in public or in the media the extent of the resource (usually translated into billions of dollars), some of the cargo will be, or should be, automatically directed towards the Institute. They observe that state politicians, when speaking of GIAE, link the activities of the Institute with the mineral resources of the Latrobe Valley and that their statements on the existence of brown coal and oil helped save the School of Engineering (though the general political outcry and the fact that the Prime Minister and another powerful federal Minister have their electorates in rural Victoria probably had much more to do with the rejection of Partridge's recommendations than did the mineral extraction activities of the Latrobe Valley). Members also observe that political statements linking GIAE with mineral extraction industries have not brought the Institute any additional money outside of the TEC grant. They put this down to the fact that Morwell is a safe Labor seat; it does not lead them to question their belief that there is, or should be, (once development is truly underway) a mysterious connection between wealth from minerals and wealth for GIAE.

In fact, a real cut in funds in the present can even strengthen members' belief in the cargo of the future. In May 1981 the Institute was claiming that the knife of the so-called Razor Gang had missed GIAE. In a press release issued by the Community Services Officer and quoting the President of Council, it was stated:

> The Razor Gang decisions on education have further strengthened the role of the Gippsland Institute . . .
> GIAE Council President . . . said that the Institute had argued for some time that if regional colleges of advanced education were to be further developed and consolidated . . . then some rationalization of universities and colleges . . . in the Melbourne metropolitan area had to take place . . .
> Obviously the national importance of the Gippsland Region as a major growth centre is becoming increasingly recognised in Canberra and Melbourne.[16]

By September, however, members of the Institute were complaining about a cut in funding, but still maintained faith in future wealth:

> The cutback by the Tertiary Education Commission in Canberra of 5.5% in Gippsland Institute funding for next year was taken behind closed doors in Canberra. This will mean a $400 000 reduction in funds in 1982 . . .
> Those who made this decision in Canberra obviously have no concept of the importance of the Gippsland region to Victoria and Australia.
> This Region produces enormous wealth but there is very little evidence that Canberra is prepared to build up the community resources of the region . . . [17]

In October 1981, the Director, in a letter to *The Age*, stated:

> With more than $8 billion of energy projects under way or foreshadowed in this region, there is a growing demand for skilled workers at professional, trade and middle levels . . .
> The [TEC] cuts conflict with the resource development policy of the State and Federal Governments for the Gippsland region. They limit the ability of the Gippsland Institute to respond to the urgent needs of industry . . .
> The Federal Government receives by way of world parity tax $10 million a day on Gippsland oil production. This amounts to a staggering $3.6 billion a year.
> Gippsland produces enormous wealth for the rest of Victoria and Australia but it gets very little in return.

Since the 1920s, people have been making grand predictions about the extent and pace of the economic growth and development that is to occur within the Latrobe Valley as a result of coal extraction and energy production. Over the same period of time, as was documented in Chapter 4, arguments for the expansion of technical education have been linked to such predictions. However, power generation requirements have always been limited to the provision of power for Victoria's needs[18] and, even if the boom does occur to the extent which some people expect, the delivery of goods to the College does not follow. Comparative to the Gippsland population, it is doubtful that people living elsewhere in Australia are disproportionately advantaged by the wealth created through Latrobe Valley activities—the nation has not misappropriated the cargo originally intended for Gippslanders or their institutions.[19]

SEC developments will proceed in the Latrobe Valley, but probably at a pace that resembles the intermittent rate of development

Plate 5 Coal Dredge at Work in the Open Cut Mine

which occurred in the past, rather than one which conforms to the accelerated rate of growth which some expect for the future. There will always be a need for skilled and professional labour in the Latrobe Valley, but more work needs to be done on how the introduction of new technologies will affect the structure of the professional workforce after the power station construction phase.

While electricity output has increased, the number of people employed to operate power stations has remained fairly stable for the last 15 years. The SEC operations workforce doubled between 1947 and 1966: from 4000 workers in 1947 to 8000 workers in 1966. However, between 1966 and 1980, the operations workforce declined to 7300 and 7100 workers in 1971 and 1976 respectively, and then rose to over 8000 workers in 1980 (SEC, 1981, ch. 12, p.7). Up to the year 2000 the SEC expects a linear increase in its operations workforce, with the figure being over 15 000 workers. Given past experience and technological innovations, such a linear progression of employment opportunities may be overly optimistic.

Even a brief tour of the Valley's major organizations leaves one impressed with the degree of automation and the role of the computer in modern industry. A representative of the APM noted that, since the early 1950s, the size of the organization in terms of output and capital equipment has quadrupled, while the size of the workforce has remained much the same. The APM mill, located near Traralgon, is impressive by the amount of sophisticated equipment present and the small number of workers required to operate it. From the time the timber arrives at the mill until it comes out the other end as large rolls of paper, it remains virtually untouched by human hands. In 1980, the APM employed 960 wage workers and 180 staff members. Out of its professional workforce, 30 were engineers, 15 were chemical engineers, and 10 were chemists.[20]

Whatever the rate of development in the power generation and other Latrobe Valley industries over the next two decades, it is likely that the Valley will continue to lack a well-developed social and economic infrastructure, and suffer a highly imbalanced labour market. Certain categories of skilled labour will remain in high demand, while other categories, such as unskilled juvenile males and females of all ages, will be oversupplied. The number of males registered as unemployed in the Morwell district between 1976 and 1980 fell from 1122 to 773 people, while the number of females unemployed for the same period rose from 554 to 830 people.

The number of unemployed males has declined in recent years, probably because of construction activities at the Loy Yang project.

The number of unemployed females, however, has increased dramatically in recent years. The situation for females is probably worse than the figures show, since many fail to register as unemployed.

As a further illustration of the imbalance in the labour force, in January 1980, 570 vacancies were registered at the Morwell CES office and in March the figure was 520. Most of the vacancies were for skilled tradesmen and, despite the high number of vacancies, the March 1980 unemployment figures were up by 64 people on the figures for the same period in 1979 (LVE, 24 April 1980). At the end of March 1980 there were 1499 people registered as unemployed: 559 junior females, 288 junior males, 315 adult males, and 337 adult females. As might be expected, the largest unemployment problem rests with females seeking clerical and administrative positions and with males seeking unskilled labouring jobs.

The majority of employment opportunities which exist in the Latrobe Valley are industrial in nature, though clearly, even within this sector, there are not jobs for everyone. If the training of skilled and technological labour for industry becomes the Institute's primary *raison d'etre*, then it was probably a historical mistake to have disturbed the structure of the tertiary division of YTC. YTC participates in the SEC's extensive apprenticeship scheme, which presently recruits approximately 300 youths annually, and trains a variety of technicians at the para-professional level. If what the people of Gippsland want and need is technical education for employment in the power industry and related activities, then public money would have been better spent from the beginning in upgrading the facilities of the technical college. The technical college provides the great majority of locally trained skilled labour, and requirements for professional engineers could easily be accommodated by one of Victoria's other eight schools of engineering. Even in 1981, the Razor Gang assessed that Victoria had too many schools of engineering. There is no evidence to suggest that training engineers in close proximity to industrial activities produces better engineers. In fact, most of the knowledge which is associated with engineering is imported, along with the technology and many of the engineers themselves. Further more, it is unreasonable to expect the Australian taxpayer to support two large and expensive educational institutions in the Latrobe Valley dealing primarily with the technologies.

On the other hand, if the justification for rural CAEs is to provide people with educational opportunities that would not otherwise be available in the region, then the nature of the situation is drastically altered. This philosophy gives GIAE a brief to be a truly multi-level, multi-purpose institution, which does, of course, include both technological and non-technological areas. However, even in these terms, the balance of internal educational activities needs to be related to the nature of the social setting.

If one of the main purposes of a regional college is to offer educational variety and make available knowledge and cultural activities which would not otherwise be accessible to the local population, then, during a period of scarce resources, it is possibly the non-technological activities which require the most protection. In relation to access and opportunity, it needs to be recognized that any change in direction which significantly diverts resources from the non-technological areas will disproportionally affect certain segments of the local population. For example, few females participate in the technologies generally, and even fewer seek careers as engineers. In 1980, although the Institute had 751 female students and 706 male students (in terms of EFT enrolments), only one female student was enrolled in the Bachelor of Engineering course and eight in the Bachelor of Applied Science. GIAE commenced operation in 1970 with a male-dominated student population, but very rapidly extended educational opportunities to females. The increase in the participation rate of women within the Institute is one of GIAE's significant accomplishments, and it would be unfortunate if the unintended consequence of a change in direction was a reversion to a male-dominated student body.

The Latrobe Valley is dominated by a technocratic world view—what some informants refer to as an 'engineering mentality or approach' to all problems. GIAE, in terms of its staff, courses, and students, extends to the local social milieu a cultural and intellectual diversity which would not otherwise exist.

This process takes place on a variety of levels. For example, staff sponsor art shows at the Institute, and participate in exhibitions at art centres throughout the region. Each year, the School of Visual Arts invites a well-known practising artist to be artist-in-residence for a short period of time. This person not only interacts with staff and students, but also extends his knowledge and expertise to interested people in the local community. Other staff give guest lectures at community-sponsored adult education classes, and deliver talks at Rotary clubs and other societies. Many of the staff belong to these societies, which allows for an interaction and an exchange of views between GIAE members and an influential segment of the local population. A few staff have become members of local government and, as previously mentioned, a number of staff participate in community discussions on important local issues. In this regard, social science staff often have a vital role to play. In the Latrobe Valley, 'community' tends to be defined in economic rather than social terms. It is important that there exists locally a group of people who can appreciate and evaluate the social consequences of industrial expansion.

On an informal and less structured basis, staff interact with local residents at hotels, parties, restaurants, and at other social venues. Besides the main urban centres, the Latrobe Valley consists of many small hamlets. A significant proportion of the staff live in or near these hamlets, which bring them into contact with the rural population. They bring to the rural communities a diversity of opinion and outlook.

Not all GIAE staff have been well suited for life in rural communities. Some have viewed the region as culturally barren, and rural community life as narrow-minded and insular. When people refer to the Latrobe Valley as being culturally barren, they are usually referring to the absence of high culture and high society: orchestral concerts and music recitals, theatre, ballet, opera, well-endowed art museums, literary activities (such as poetry recitals), and so on. Possibly, because of various historical factors—such as the absence of an established and wealthy squattocracy and the concentration of heavy industry—Central Gippsland, relative to some other regions, has been lacking in high culture. But the region does have an important history and culture, though it is probably more rural working-class in nature than oriented to metropolitan middle-class values and life-styles. It is a setting in which football and other sporting events become a primary cultural outlet.

Some staff serve as a bridge between the academic culture of GIAE and the values and life-styles of the local community. They participate in local sporting events and, through farming and related activities, form a working relationship with a significant section of the local population—particularly with those who do not belong to the local elite. While some people see such staff members as living a dual life—that of academic. on the one hand, and that of sportsman and hobby farmer on the other—their activities are highly interrelated, rather than being mutually exclusive. Their interaction with the local population on these levels allows for an active and healthy interchange of views and opinions in an atmosphere of mutual trust and acceptance. It allows average local citizens to share in academic explanations about life around them, and have access to a broader range of ideas than otherwise would be the case. For example, staff living on farms often ask their more experienced neighbours for advice and assistance, and the conduct of a particular chore—such as shearing sheep—will be intermixed with lengthy conversations about the economy, the current political situation, the reasons behind development in the Latrobe Valley and its consequences, and so on. Some residents feel bewildered and overwhelmed by developments in the Valley, and they turn to certain members of GIAE staff whom they know and trust for a better understanding of the social forces which are changing their lives.

Many of the students from Gippsland attend GIAE because of their attachment to their local communities and their desire not to leave the region. While their experience at GIAE may modify their involvement with local communities, it is often to their own and their community's benefit. Though it is a difficult phenomenon to measure precisely, it seems that the type and style of education offered by the Institute is, in various ways, flowing out into the community through graduates and ex-students. In interviews and discussions, several past students and graduates were keen to note that, while their experience at GIAE had made them more critically aware of the environment in which they lived, it had also broadened their social horizons and given them the confidence to look at their lives and their place in the community in a more positive and progressive way. This is a function of the skills and training they received at GIAE, and a product of the general/liberal educational values which some staff have attempted to make part of the Institute's academic culture. Many of those who have experienced GIAE have learnt not only to think more creatively for themselves, but to become more creative in their involvement with the local community. For example, it is probably no coincidence that the current state Labor representative for Morwell was GIAE's first female Union President. Other graduates have enriched community life by coupling their intrinsic interests with business pursuits, such as a glass-blowing concern established by two visual arts graduates which attracts custom locally and from Melbourne. One of the area's leading amateur artists, who is also an engineer with the SEC, completed the Institute's visual arts course. Many other GIAE graduates, in various ways, have diversified and enriched life in the region.

If the Institute had failed to develop the non-technological areas, the region would be even more restricted in its social and cultural opportunities than it is today. In this sense, it is probably more important, for example, to teach visual arts within the Latrobe Valley than train engineers. There will always be engineers present within the local society, but the local population has few opportunities to associate with professional artists, or to learn from them an appreciation of the visual, cultural and aesthetic aspects of their environment. The mere presence of the Institute's academic staff—educationalists, humanists, artists, psychologists, economists, etc.—has introduced an entirely new element into Gippsland society and, in the process, has enriched the social and cultural life of the region. While this is an extra-formal function of the institution, it is an important one.

When considering the balanced development of the Institute, the School of Engineering deserves some special consideration. In the past, for various reasons, the rest of the Institute developed while the School of Engineering lagged behind. There is a need for corrective measures which will allow the School to become more effective. However, it is difficult to argue that training engineers in particular, or technologists in general, is the essential and primary function of any regional college with limited resources.

Institutional Autonomy and Sectoral Rivalry

Some members of the Institute feel that, while it was necessary in the past to publicize engineering and the technologies in response to the Partridge Report, Institute leaders now believe their own propaganda. These members also believe that, while the Institute worked as a whole to save engineering, now that the social sciences are out of favour and possibly under some threat, the engineering staff are finding it convenient to have short memories. The majority of those who belong to the School of Engineering have a far different view of the organization from other members. They are more prone to support the position of management than other members, and give their primary loyalty to the institution itself. Engineers differ significantly in behaviour, attitudes, and life-style from their cosmopolitan counterparts in the non-technological areas. For example, the present Head of Engineering asked his staff to look and dress like lecturers—neat in appearance and wearing coats and ties. According to the Head, this was because students used potentially lethal equipment in the laboratory and, in case of an emergency, they needed to be able to identify immediately a person in authority.[21]

In an attitudinal sense, engineering and applied science are seen as the safe and established areas on which to base the future of the organization, while development in the social sciences and related areas is regarded as the more risky, dangerous and unknown alternative. This attitude is reinforced by the fact that the role of Deakin University in external studies had yet to be clarified. The VPSEC Working Party on Engineering has secured the position of Engineering at GIAE, at least for the time being. Moreover, there is no competition between Deakin University and GIAE with regard to business study type of courses at the undergraduate level. The greatest areas of overlap between the two institutions are in liberal studies in the B.A. degree and in education. This is one of the reasons why Institute leaders are currently discussing vocational packages in the non-technological areas. Associating such disciplines as sociology with business studies and making English an integral part of visual arts and education limit the institution's vulnerability to a straightout takeover bid by Deakin University in these areas—thus helping to preserve the autonomy of the institution.[22]

There is a strong feeling among some members of the Institute that a technological image will firmly secure the position of the organization in its environment for the foreseeable future. While such a belief may or may not be true, it helps to obscure the basic purpose of organizing educational activities in an institutional framework. To preserve autonomy, educational activities are re-aligned so as to neutralize any external threat to the institution. Though external threats cannot be ignored, the process should be the reverse, at least ideally. The institutional framework should be re-aligned and adjusted so as to further the goals and purposes of the educational activities.

For a number of years, the Institute and Deakin have had discussions about closer association and co-operation, but Institute leaders have been wary of Deakin's underlying motives. The survival of both organizations depends on a viable external studies program, and so far both institutions have been fairly equal in terms of the size and quality of their external operations. As Deakin gains more experience in the area, and because of its greater financial resources, the balance may shift in its favour.

Recently, educational policy makers have been concerned that some institutions are developing external studies for the sole purpose of keeping up their level of student enrolments. In part, GIAE has increased its external activities in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne in order to keep up the enrolment figures. Overall, external studies is an integral, well-developed and executed part of GIAE's teaching program. What has been done in the external mode at GIAE is a true credit to the initiative and foresight of the Director. Hopper initiated external studies at GIAE at a time when the concept was neither well supported by tertiary education authorities nor well understood by teaching staff. The development of external studies at GIAE has largely been by trial and error, but the resulting scheme is an educationally sound one, to which the majority of staff are highly committed. It is no coincidence that GIAE chose for its first Director a man with extensive experience of external studies programs.

The basic philosophy behind external studies at GIAE is to maximize interaction between staff and students, even though the student is studying at a distance. This interaction is achieved by various methods. Once each month during the academic year a weekend or vacation school is staged at the Churchill campus. Though largely non-compulsory, these schools, particularly the early ones in each term, are well attended by external students. A weekend external studies school brings the campus to life, with well over 1000 students travelling to Churchill. On occasions, tutorials are held at the various study centres. Staff may either travel to the study centre, or talk with students via a telephone link-up. The telephone tutorials, as they are called, seem to be very successful, and the Institute is investigating more ways of involving modern technology in external teaching. The location of some students presents particularly difficult problems in terms of staff/student interaction. For example, there are a few external students from Pentridge Gaol whom staff must visit.

The weekend and vacation schools have a social as well as an educational significance. Institute-sponsored dances and dinners and informal student parties allow for a degree of interaction among students who spend most of their time studying at home or in small groups at the study centres. On these occasions, students get together to discuss a variety of problems: difficulties with assignments, the pressure of work and home duties on their study program, their personal growth, and what they hope their courses will achieve in terms of career advancement. Many of the staff participate in the various social functions.

Physical and cultural isolation is a problem for many of the students living in small communities in the Gippsland region. It is not uncommon to find students, both young and mature, who claim that they have never been to Melbourne, or have visited the city only a few times in their lives. The weekend and vacation schools bring Gippsland students and their metropolitan counterparts together and, in a sense, the external program brings the metropolis to

Gippsland. This allows for the interaction of people with different backgrounds, experiences, values, and social perspectives. During the weekend and vacation schools, students discuss a variety of social and political questions, and it seems many of the students—both Gippslanders and city dwellers—benefit through being presented with a diversity of opinion and outlook.

The bringing together of a large number of diverse people—even for a short period of time—has some impact on the local population who do not directly participate in Institute affairs. During the weekend and vacation schools, students spill over into local hotels and restaurants and, though it is limited, do have some interaction with local residents. Internal students do this as well, and on a more sustained basis. Because of the large number of external students, a weekend or vacation school certainly highlights the presence of GIAE. Furthermore, these occasions benefit the local economy.

Some critics of external study programs believe that they cater solely for the bored housewife, with minimal educational qualifications and interested only in trendy courses such as sociology and politics. The provision of cultural and generalist educational opportunities to women, particularly those resident in Gippsland, is an important aspect of GIAE's external study program. It would be a shame if these opportunities were ever restricted. The evidence suggests that the external student body is highly heterogeneous, with a great many of the external students already in employment and holding sound educational qualifications.

Educational policy makers in Victoria are concerned that, if too many institutions are involved in external studies, the quality of the programs will be diluted and there will be a wasteful duplication of effort and resources. They have recognized the need for overall co-ordination of external studies and for allowing only select institutions to develop certain external programs in pre-specified course areas. The political questions are: which institutions are going to be allowed to continue to develop external studies, and in what areas; and which institution or body is to provide overall rationalization and co-ordination?

The Partridge committee's recommendation that Deakin University be recognized as the principal provider and co-ordinator of external studies was, like the other recommendations, referred to VPSEC for further investigation. VPSEC appointed a Working Party (Chairman's Advisory Working Party on Off-Campus Studies) for this purpose.[23] The Working Party submitted its report in January 1980, and the only substantial recommendation was that VPSEC establish a

Standing Committee to oversee, co-ordinate and rationalize off-campus programs. It seemed that GIAE might not now have anything to fear from Deakin University.

Following the report of the Working Party, VPSEC established the Advisory Committee on Off-Campus Studies, and in May 1980 wrote to the GIAE Director asking him to become a member of the Committee.[24] The letter outlined the Committee's terms of reference and went on to state:

> The Committee is required as a matter of urgency to advise the Commission about the role of Deakin University in the provision of off campus studies, with particular reference to financial and administrative arrangements which would enable Deakin University, under guidelines and general policies of the Commission, to be the co-ordinating centre for all off-campus studies in Victoria . . . [25]

The Director and the Council believed that the autonomy of the institution was once again under threat from Deakin University.

The Director had discussions with the Chairman of VPSEC and reported to the July meeting of Council that VPSEC did not really mean what it said. The Director said that the Chairman 'had indicated that his letter on the matter could have been better expressed and that there was no reason to worry about the continuing role of the Gippsland Institute in external studies'. The letter was 'certainly not intended as a method of freezing this Institute out of the external studies area'.[26] Council accepted the assurances of the Commission's Chairman with some scepticism.

Members of the Institute once again looked for a political solution to the external threat which Deakin seemed to pose. In July 1980, the Victorian Minister of Education (Mr A.J. Hunt) was invited to open the Institute's new multi-purpose auditorium. The opening was conveniently staged during a GIAE external studies weekend school. The Minister was given an extensive tour of the Institute, and the Community Services Officer prepared a press release on the visit, which the Minister personally approved. The press release said, in part:

> Mr Hunt said that the Victorian Post Secondary Education Commission had been given very clear guidelines to maintain the viability of the Institute.
> 'Both the State and Federal government were committed to decentralisation . . . We all understand the national importance of the Gippsland Region and the role the Institute will play in its further development.'
> MR HUNT STRONGLY INDICATED THAT THE GIAE EXTERNAL STUDIES PROGRAMME WOULD BE MAINTAINED.[27]

On the release of the above statements, the Deputy Chairman of VPSEC had a telephone conversation with GIAE's Director. He took exception to the Minister's statements, claiming that VPSEC was a statutory authority and was not dictated to by the Minister. The Director himself recognized that the Institute could overplay its political trumpcard. The long-term interests of the Institute lie in the direction of convincing VPSEC of the viability and sincerity of the organization, and short-term political activity might well alienate the Institute from the educational authorities.[28]

Immediate and pragmatic political solutions to complex problems may not only antagonize educational authorities, but can also limit the organization's options in exploring various solutions to the problems. Once the goal of organizational survival becomes paramount, a great deal of flexibility and creativity in adapting the organization to its environment is lost. People may pursue the goal of institutional survival without asking why the institution should exist in the first place, and any questioning of organizational arrangements and suggestions of greater collaboration with other institutions becomes tantamount to treason.

GIAE's Director joined VPSEC's Advisory Committee, which submitted an Interim Report in October 1980. With regard to the coordination of external studies, the Committee stated that it was 'not persuaded that a single institutional model would be the best for coordination'.[29] This took some of the pressure off GIAE in relation to Deakin University. But the Committee was continuing its task of identifying appropriate roles in off-campus education for all institutions. The Committee hoped to define the areas in which each institution should be allowed to develop and continue external courses. The Committee also indicated in its October 1980 report that major increases in enrolments in humanities and social science programs should be the particular responsibility of Deakin University. This and the Committee's continued investigation put the continuance of GIAE's external B.A. degree program in some doubt. Some members of the Institute feared that Institute leaders would rather shed parts of the B.A. program than be forced into an unwanted marriage with another institution.

Though one can point to examples of co-operation between educational sectors, it needs to be recognized that, on several planes, fierce sectoral and institutional rivalry and competition exist. The structure of the system has forced institutions to spend more of their time and energy in defending their autonomy and staking out territory than co-operating for the good of all students. As members of GIAE have had to fight vigorously the external threats to the Institute's continued existence, it is quite remarkable that they have had the time and energy left to establish sound educational programs. Substantial opportunities have been lost through the continual need for members to protect the institution politically. For example, in November 1980, the Board of Studies in Arts passed a motion that the Institute consider a merger/closer relationship with Deakin University or another tertiary institution. The motion, along with a supporting paper by two staff members, was put to the December meeting of the Academic Board.[30] The paper stated that there were several political, administrative, and academic difficulties associated with the notion of merger or closer relationship with another institution. Nevertheless the authors thought there were several strong educational reasons for investigating the idea. Their argument was, basically, that GIAE, like many other regional colleges, lacked depth both in terms of the range of course offerings and in terms of staff expertise. They suggested that the 'creation of a wider academic environment . . . is an essential requirement in our development and that . . . merger or closer liaison with a larger body is the best available means to resolving this problem'. GIAE is a small institution with only about 100 members on the teaching staff. Any arrangement which attracts more academic expertise into the region, and at the same time increases the educational opportunities available, is deserving of consideration.

Discussion on the staff paper was stifled at the Academic Board. The Assistant to Director argued strongly against even considering it. He was not so much opposed to its content as to the mention of a possible merger, at a time when the Council was considering future relationships with Deakin. He argued that the policy of Council, though not explicitly stated, was to not merge with any institution outside of the region and, therefore, the Board had no brief to discuss a proposal which went against Council policy. The minutes of the meeting recorded:

> It was explained that discussions at Council on the possible centralisation of control of external studies with the Deakin Institute (sic) had evoked a response which led him [Assistant to Director] to believe that Council's unwritten policy was to oppose any merger with any institution outside the region. On these grounds it was entirely inappropriate to be considering even an enquiry into a merger with Deakin or any other university.[31]

A greater and more useful association among institutions does not necessarily threaten GIAE's academic programs. In fact, it seems a larger threat is posed to certain aspects of the external study program, particularly to the external B.A. degree, by GIAE standing on its institutional autonomy.

The GIAE Engineering (Technology) Building, TAFE, and Sectoral Rivalry

In terms of sectoral rivalry, GIAE has truly had 'cannon to the right of them cannon to the left of them'. The introduction of Deakin to the system increased the rivalry between GIAE and the university sector. Its relationship with the TAFE sector has not been any more cordial.

The description of GIAE's attempt to transfer engineering facilities to Churchill from the Newborough campus illustrates much of the politics of higher education, frustrating bureaucratic delays, and inter-sectoral rivalry. It also shows how attempts at educational innovation cannot be considered outside the overall political context.

For many years, GIAE has sought capital funds to build an engineering building (currently called a technology building) on the Churchill campus. In October 1973 the Institute started planning building projects to house Engineering and Applied Science. In May 1975 the Commission on Advanced Education approved the expenditure of $150 000 for planning the Engineering Building Stage 1, Applied Science Building Stage 2, and Technical Services Building. The Commission's Fourth Report on the 1976-78 triennium included an allocation of $1.667 million (1974 prices) for construction of GIAE Engineering Building Stage 1. At the end of 1975, the Federal Government did not accept the Commission's Report, and the funds made available to GIAE for planning the building were reduced to $82 000.

Again in 1976 the Commission on Advanced Education recommended the allocation of $2.5 million (1975 prices) to the construction of GIAE's engineering building. At the official opening of GIAE's Churchill campus on 20 November 1976, the Commonwealth Minister for Education, then Senator Carrick, announced that the engineering building would be started in 1977 (LVE, 23 February 1977). Funds were allocated to the project in the States Grants Act of November 1976. The Institute had the full support of the VIC for the construction of the building, architectural plans had been prepared, and it seemed that work would commence on the project in the very near future.

However, in early January 1977 the Acting Secretary of the Commission on Advanced Education informed the VIC:

> The Commission considered that in the light of the general demand for engineering courses and the declining enrolments at Gippsland, the Institute should be advised to cease planning further campus development pending a review of the situation.[32]

The concern at the time was that Victoria had an over-provision of places within its schools of engineering. But the basic problem was over which sector, CAE or TAFE, was going to teach middle-level certificate or UG3 associate diploma courses. The Commission was concerned that both GIAE and YTC were developing courses in the para-professional engineering area which would result in wasteful overlap and duplication of resources and facilities.

The Institute was informed of the Commission's decision on 13 January 1977. The Council responded strongly, and support was solicited from Gippsland politicians and local industry. A deputation from GIAE's Council visited Canberra to discuss the issue with the Minister for Education, and Philip Law of the VIC wrote to the Chairman of the Commission, giving the VIC's unequivocal support to the immediate construction of the building.[33] The Commission was assured by the Institute that GIAE had the full co-operation and support of YTC with regard to the development of UG3 engineering courses.

It seems that the TAFE sector in Victoria was concerned that the activities of members of the Institute, the VIC, and pressure from local politicians would influence the Commonwealth Government and the Commission. On 10 March 1977 the Conference of Principals of Victorian Technical Colleges sent the following urgent telegram to Senator Carrick:

> Have just learned of Proposal by government to spend $3 million on new post secondary engineering facilities at Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education . . . Believe serious mistake being made . . . Resources already available in region . . . Recommend project be halted . . . Letter follows.[34]

The letter which followed stated:

> It is understood that the proposed facility to be established at Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education was to cater for UG3 diploma courses . . .
> We are . . . aware that the only way in which a market for such courses can be created locally is for these courses to replace the existing Certificate of Technology courses which Yallourn . . . either currently offers or can quickly mount . . .

> The effect of opening a new facility at the Gippsland Institute would be to cause a corresponding closure of existing facilities at Yallourn . . .
> Conference urges you to stop all progress with any proposals to duplicate engineering facilities in Victoria until the matters raised . . . have been fully considered and investigated.[35]

No doubt, tertiary education is a rough political game.

The above letter stated that it was 'largely untrue' that GIAE had discussed the development of UG3 diploma courses in engineering with YTC. GIAE's Council took great exception to this statement and, on 29 March 1977, the two institutions issued a joint statement:

> The Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education and the Yallourn Technical College have enjoyed a close and amicable relationship at all levels . . .
> It was agreed that the proposed Engineering building at the Gippsland Institute is essential for both institutions.[36]

The conflict was not specifically between YTC and GIAE. Over the years, there has been co-operation between the two institutions with regard to areas of mutual interest. The conflict over the engineering building centred on sectoral rivalry at the state and federal level over which class of institutions was going to control middle-level training. In a statement written at the end of March 1977, the Director of GIAE made this point clear:

> The Commission on Advanced Education expressed the view that the Institute should . . . be offering two-year UG3 Associate Diploma courses in engineering. The Institute was able to assure the Commission that it was planning such courses in close consultation with the Yallourn Technical College . . . One can only assume that the Technical College Principals saw a decision to proceed with the engineering building at the Gippsland Institute as a threat to their aspirations to control exclusively para-professional middle-level engineering education. It appears that they sought to make the Gippsland situation the test case . . . [37]

Throughout 1977, members of the Institute continued to campaign for the engineering building. The local press supported the Institute, and a GIAE student deputation travelled to Canberra by bus to speak with Senator Carrick. However, the issue largely remained in abeyance while people awaited the publication of the Partridge Report.

The Partridge Report emphasized the role of YTC in training para-professional engineers and limited GIAE to the first two years of professional training. Almost immediately after the release of the Partridge Report, GIAE and YTC established a Joint Committee to investigate the future relationship between the two institutions. On the recommendation of the Joint Committee, the Councils of the two institutions agreed in principle that the long-term aim 'should be the merging of the two institutions into a single comprehensive post-secondary institution'.[38] However, any merger of the two institutions has not proceeded past statements of principle. The fact that the Partridge recommendations were not accepted by government took the pressure off the Institute. By 1979 the emphasis had returned to the training of professional engineers, and the Institute was no longer as concerned about UG3 associate diploma courses. During the period of field research, there was little discussion of a formal association between the two institutions. In addition, TAFE institutions have been gaining strength over the years and, if anything, the rivalry between the two sectors has increased.

The concept of a single post-secondary institution for a rural region is worthy of investigation. If the conflict in Gippsland over the engineering building had brought this about, then it would have probably been justified. Significant institutional change is usually brought about by external pressure. The sectoral rivalry between the CAEs and TAFE has largely been negative in nature, and has resulted in the very duplication of resources and staff expertise that people had hoped not to create. The problem is that participants in a competition often couch their arguments in terms of educational rationalization, co-operation, and co-ordination, while their underlying motives are to stake out their own educational territory and strengthen and preserve the autonomy of individual institutions and sectors—even sometimes at the expense of the integrity of educational programs. This is a problem with the total system, and it is not surprising that it is reproduced in competition between local institutions.

In Gippsland, GIAE continues to cope with poor and inadequate facilities in its attempt to train professional engineers, while the YTC has recently received $5 million from the TEC for capital works at the Newborough site. In 1980, VPSEC supported GIAE's submission to the TEC for a new technology building though not as a first priority. Also, with inflation, the ante for the building has been raised to four million dollars. Funds were not forthcoming in the 1982–84 triennium for the building, but expectations are high that funds will be released around 1985. In any case, five million dollars for YTC and a proposed four million dollars for GIAE do nothing to promote the principle of close association between the two institutions. On the other hand, nine million dollars allocated to a single post-secondary education institution for Gippsland may have formed a basis for true rationalization and co-operation.

A member of the Council on Advanced Education has commented that, at the federal level, the educational sectors—universities, CAEs and TAFE—are 'like three dogs all fighting over the same bone'.[39] A member of the Universities Council (Fensham, 1981) has been critical of the national structure of tertiary education. Though the problem did not originate with the TEC, he believes that the TEC, rather than making creative inputs into higher education, is forced to make decisions, based on inadequate information, on the competing demands of the various sectors. It is not surprising that individual institutions, like GIAE, are often forced into a situation where they must pursue survival for survival's sake, rather than devoting their energy to planning and delivering creative and challenging educational programs.

Diversity among educational institutions must be maintained if the full range of community educational needs is going to be met. Possibly, too much emphasis is placed on the maintenance of sectoral boundaries, and not enough effort put into exploring how structures may be created which will further institutional co-operation. It may be that what is required is a greater understanding and appreciation of the needs and requirements of specific institutions set within particular environments, without the discussion on such matters being unduly restricted by the sectoral location of particular institutions.

10

THE FUTURE: THE ROLE OF A MULTI-LEVEL, MULTI-PURPOSE HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION IN A RURAL REGION

> Much of the problem relating to the organization of tertiary education in Australia is due to the fiction of a binary system, particularly a binary system that draws the line at the wrong place . . .
> Higher education can undoubtedly best be served by the development of a diversity of institutions . . . (Neil Batt, 1978)

In 1965 Professor P.H. Partridge raised the subject of uniformity among Australian higher education institutions. Though he was concerned mainly with Australian universities, his comments are also pertinent to the CAE experience over the last 17 years. According to Partridge (1965, p.17) 'we may be able to keep all our institutions of university rank roughly equal and uniform provided we do not mind them being equally bad or equally mediocre . . .' He asked two fundamental questions:

> Should we expand our provision for higher education mainly by expanding our present institutions and by multiplying institutions of the same type, or should we try to build up a greater variety of institutions with their different and more specialized functions? (p.7)
> Should we continue our practice of keeping all our universities generally uniform in character and standard or should we . . . develop universities and colleges with different characters and functions, and reaching different academic or intellectual levels? (p.9)

In answering these questions, Professor Partridge opted for diversity among institutions. The Martin report and the consequent government reactions to it, produced a somewhat different effect. It attempted to diversify Australian higher education through the creation of two sectors—the binary system—each with distinct characteristics. But diversity through the establishment of supposedly divergent educational sectors has not proved entirely successful. There has been a tendency for the colleges endeavouring to assume functions and characteristics similar to those of the universities and, according to some critics, there has been some lack of clarity in educational philosophies and objectives, accompanied by some contradiction in the structures through which they were to be implemented (Lublin, 1977; Woods, 1978). While such criticisms have been applied to the system as a whole, they may have a particular significance for the role and function of certain regional colleges—such as, GIAE.

The central policy makers (most recently, the Tertiary Education Commission) have always envisaged a special role for regional colleges. For example, the regional colleges have been given a broader mandate than the one which applies to metropolitan institutions to offer general education courses and the liberal arts. But statements on the role and purpose of the regional colleges are not advanced as explicitly as are the statements which pertain to the system as a whole. The 1981 TEC Report firmly states that the CAEs should not develop liberal studies courses which resemble those offered by the universities. The Report also states that regional CAEs, because of their location in country areas, may offer such courses. It has not been made clear whether or not the policy makers see this as one of the primary functions of regional colleges. At least, there seems to be no definitive statement on the subject. Possibly, this is one factor which has made it difficult for members of GIAE to construct one image and set of goals which can bind them together behind a common purpose. There may be a need for policy makers to make more definite statements on the role and purpose of regional colleges, though such statements should be broad enough to allow the regional colleges to adjust to the particular characteristics of their respective localities, and to explore different and creative relationships with their environment.

Educational change and innovation require an assessment of the nature of the particular social setting in which an educational institution is placed. This necessitates an understanding of the social make-up of the student body, the needs of various social groups (including those of industry and commerce), historical factors, and the overall social structure of a particular region. It may be worthwhile to look at the possible future development of GIAE, not as a CAE which happens to be placed in a rural region, but rather as an educational institution for the people of Gippsland.

CAEs can never and should never be completely autonomous, self-sufficient institutions, pursuing educational programs without reference to state and national needs and priorities. It is obvious that higher education in Australia requires co-ordination and rationalization, and that all educational institutions need to adapt to changing economic, cultural, and social patterns. If this is to be achieved, the rationalization of higher education will require more than just the imposition from above of a pattern of education. The educational planner and innovator must ask what is the social, cultural, and economic significance of higher education in relation to the needs and requirements of a particular group of people. Above all, a regional college must consider regional as well as state and national requirements.

The following discussion on educational innovations pertains, in the first instance, to GIAE. A number of colleges facing similar environmental circumstances may also find the suggestions worthy of investigation, though it must be kept in mind that any innovatory scheme needs to be adapted to local conditions.

Public Image and Student Access

The public image of a higher educational institution depends to a great extent on its reputation in local schools and on the academic standard of its students. There has been a fairly general view that the colleges should not rigidly follow university entrance requirements. GIAE selects the majority of its immediate post-secondary students on the basis of examination results for the Higher School Certificate. However, like other colleges, each year the Institute enrols a few students who have failed their HSC examinations. This is done only if there is strong evidence of extraordinary circumstances, such as illness or a death in the family at the time of the HSC examination, and on the recommendation of the high school principal that a particular student is capable of higher study. While this practice can be defended on both moral and educational grounds, some members of the Institute were concerned that it also cast the Institute in a bad light in the local community. Some members feared that the attitude among high school students was that the weaker students felt that, if they did poorly in the HSC they could always go to GIAE, while those who were better scholastically would choose other institutions. The good student would not wish to be associated with an institution which accepted failures.

Other members of staff, however, argued that the Institute was serving the needs of the region by having a liberal entry policy for certain categories of students. They stated that the quality of students which the Institute accepted did not really matter; it was the quality of the graduates that was of primary importance. Still other staff members argued that the problem rested with the high school principals who testified to the academic merit of students who failed HSC for reasons other than scholastic ones. This view would be countered by the argument that principals were willing to recommend students for entry to GIAE who would not be recommended to a metropolitan institution—thus confirming the lowly status of the Institute in the eyes of the community. While some members believed, philosophically, that the Institute should have a liberal student selection policy, they also felt that for the sake of the Institute's image the policy should be made more stringent for a few years, then relaxed. The issue was a complicated one, with staff opinion apparently unrelated to position or school membership.

The degree to which a preparedness to take students with low examination scores is detrimental to the Institute's image within the schools is difficult to judge. Certainly, there is a basis to some of the fears in this regard. But it does not necessarily follow that the Institute should become more stringent with regard to student selection. Possibly, because of the isolation of many parts of the Gippsland region, and the lack of middle-class cultural outlets throughout the region, GIAE might reasonably enrol local students who would not be given entry elsewhere.

Many of the teachers within the schools praised the Institute for its flexible entry policy. During a conversation with two careers teachers from East Gippsland and members of GIAE staff, the issue of enrolling students who had failed HSC was raised. The careers teachers both thought that the Institute would do itself more harm by discontinuing the practice than by continuing it. They argued that there was a group of students in East Gippsland who, for a variety of reasons, would do poorly in their HSC examinations, and that these students deserved a 'fair go—a chance to make it'. They noted that before the establishment of GIAE it was virtually impossible for such students to continue their education and that, as it became known that Bairnsdale and other East Gippsland students performed well at GIAE, the problem of image would disappear.[1]

It takes time for an institution to build an academic reputation, and GIAE has been in operation for only 10 years. It has not had the time to build up an old-boy network, nor to establish its reputation firmly in other ways. Wherever one travels in Gippsland, one finds people who are aware of GIAE. Certainly this would not have been the case 10 years ago, and probably not even five years ago. Of course, not every qualified student within the Gippsland region attends GIAE, for a variety of reasons, only one of which would be academic reputation. There is the simple fact that the Institute does not offer all courses. The student interested in medicine, law, pharmacy, and a number of other professional areas must go to Melbourne for higher education. Some professional families, including some GIAE staff members, prefer the universities in terms of higher education for their children, but other prominent local citizens have encouraged their children to attend GIAE. Two basic problems which the Institute faces in attracting students outside of the Latrobe Valley are the psychological effects of distance and geographical location. Many informants noted that people living in East Gippsland considered the Latrobe Valley as being just as far away as Melbourne. Moreover, as noted in Chapter 3, there is a social stigma attached to the Latrobe Valley and its institutions, by people living elsewhere in Gippsland. This is mainly because of historical factors and the perceived working-class nature of the Valley. For some people, the Latrobe Valley is a place to drive through as quickly as possible on their way to or from Melbourne.

On the other hand, many people living in country areas do not wish to leave the region for their higher education, and there is a long tradition in Australia of country people campaigning to have higher education facilities established locally. The existence of GIAE allows people to undertake higher studies, while remaining in a small community—though, unless they are studying externally, some of them may have to travel to Churchill. There is a substantial amount of evidence to suggest that a proportion of rural youth can be overwhelmed and alienated by city life, which, in turn, may have a negative effect on their academic results if they are studying at metropolitan institutions. GIAE staff noted that several of their students were young people who had failed, or had done poorly, at a metropolitan institution and had subsequently returned to the region. The Institute has helped many of these people to 'get back on their feet', both academically and emotionally. While some of these students complete a degree at GIAE, staff noted that others, once they had matured and gained more self-confidence, found that they required more outside stimulation and they returned to a metropolitan institution in their second or third year. It is important that rural colleges serve this dual function: provide education opportunities to country people who do not wish to leave the region and provide a form of academic rehabilitation for rural youth who have had negative experiences at metropolitan institutions.

Gippsland is a region which lacks a well-developed tradition of higher education. In Central Gippsland, secondary education was established later and developed more slowly than in other regions of the State (Blake, 1973, Vol. II p.1171). Before 1943 there were only two high schools within the general Central Gippsland region—one at Warragul and the other at Leongatha (ibid). By 1930, the whole of

Gippsland had 20 state high schools, six registered secondary schools, and eight technical schools. Secondary education still takes place in small schools spread throughout the region, with the Year 12 HSC enrolments below the level of viability in many of the schools (see Table 4).

People within and without GIAE often lament the fact that more students do not study mathematics and science at the HSC level. With schools having Year 12 enrolments of seven students, eleven students, thirty students, and so on, it is impossible for the schools to offer a full range of HSC courses, much less to specialize in the maths/science area. When visiting the smaller schools in the region, one gets the impression, from both students and teachers, that many of the students are there only as a holding operation until they find jobs. They have little interest in their subjects and seemingly no intention of continuing with their education.

In advice given to the TEC for the 1982–83 triennium, the Council on Advanced Education suggested that CAEs introduce bridging courses for students who wished to study in the technologies but

Table 4 1980 Year 12 Enrolments in Gippsland High Schools and Registered Secondary Schools

High school[a]	No. of HSC students	Registered secondary school[b]	No. of HSC students
Wonthaggi	40	Nagle College (Bairnsdale)	43
Warragul	60	Presentation College (Moe)	12
Traralgon	51	Sale Catholic Regional College	60
Trafalgar	11		
Swifts Creek	7	St. Anne's and Gippsland Grammar (Sale)	27
Sale	49		
Orbost	24	Lourdes College (Traralgon)	82
Newborough	40	Marist Sion College (Warragul)	43
Neerim South	7		
Mirboo North	11		
Moe	36		
Maryvale	29		
Maffra	31		
Leongatha	45		
Korumburra	28		
Foster	31		
Drouin	41		
Bairnsdale	81		
Morwell	60		
Yarram	30		

[a] Information provided by Gippsland Regional Education Office.

[b] Information provided by GIAE's Community Services Officer.

lacked appropriate mathematics/science qualifications. However, for certain rural areas, a far more revolutionary concept might need to be introduced.

Many of the universities operating in new nations have faced a problem similar to the one confronting GIAE. Because of the lack of educational developments in the past, the new nations have not had a large pool of secondary students with educational qualifications appropriate for higher education. To overcome this problem, such institutions as the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) introduced a preliminary year program. At UPNG the preliminary year is a year of teaching by university staff which is designed to bridge the gap between Form IV education and university matriculation. The preliminary year was one of the university's most successful innovations, and it worked because it was an integral part of the institution's activities—not a separate program run by a different group or 'class' of staff (Meek, 1982).

GIAE initially ran a form of preliminary year for students entering from technical schools after Year 11; and other CAEs, which retain in their structure some TAFE operations, still run similar programs. What is being suggested here is a rather different notion, namely that the Institute should run a full matriculation program, employing its own staff in the exercise. A preliminary year program attached to GIAE but run through, or by, a separate organization would only result in conflict and structural strain, for two classes of staff would be created.

The Institute already has the staff expertise to run a preliminary year and the residential accommodation to bring many students from outlying areas to the Churchill campus. The purpose of the preliminary year would be to provide country students with more opportunities to achieve matriculation status. The preliminary year should not be seen solely for matriculating students into GIAE degree courses. It would only be judged a success if students completing the year had equal opportunity to continue with their education at a Melbourne institution, or remain at GIAE.

This suggestion runs headlong into the interests of other organizations and cuts across present funding guidelines. Possibly, some of the difficulty could be overcome by continuing with the recommendation that YTC and GIAE amalgamate their activities. Such an amalgamation, as local participants recognize, would not be successful if TAFE and CAE activities remain structurally distinct. In a joint resolution by representatives of GIAE and YTC Councils made in September 1979, it was stated:

> The Joint Committee agreed at its first meeting on 27 April 1978 that the interests of the people of Gippsland would best be served by a single comprehensive Institution governed by a Council drawn predominantly from Gippsland, with powers similar to those of Councils of Colleges of Advanced Education . . . It was agreed that such a model would be feasible *only if VPSEC were able to fund the proposed institution as a comprehensive institution, and not if it were to be regarded as two component parts each 'belonging' to a sector of post-secondary education.*[2]

A single post-secondary education institution for the Gippsland region makes good sense—the population is too small and thinly spread to benefit from a variety of different institutions engaged in similar, and sometimes competing activities. However, it may be worthwhile to investigate how the concept of a single, high quality educational institution can be extended into the secondary area through the idea of a preliminary year.

The success or failure of any educational innovation will depend ultimately on the relationships which an institution forms with the people around it. During the period of field research, some members of GIAE were extremely worried about the organization's image and reputation in the local community. The notion of image and public relations does not necessarily always reflect an objective public consensus. The threat of public opinion can be used to establish an organizational character in the image which certain people want to see created.

There is every reason why members of the Institute should have a healthy regard for the organization's image and reputation in the local community. In some respects, however, GIAE will never be fully integrated with its local community. This is just as true for a major university, or any other higher education institution, as it is for GIAE. Whether the front door of an educational institution is on the lawns of Churchill or facing Swanston Street in the middle of Melbourne, the majority of people who pass through it will have different reasons for doing so. There will always be some misunderstanding and suspicion between groups with different life-styles, values, habits and backgrounds. In this respect, the academic staff of GIAE are a distinct group and will remain so. The mere presence of GIAE academic staff within the Latrobe Valley provides a degree of diversity and stimulus to the local social structure that would otherwise be lacking. In no sense are GIAE academic staff a homogeneous group, but academics—mainly through their professional socialization—are identifiable and cannot be supposed to integrate fully in a community. The social development of the Gippsland region, and particularly the sub-region of the Latrobe Valley, can only be furthered by a healthy competition among groups with different norms, backgrounds and values.

Academic Programs in Terms of the Social/Cultural Functions of the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education in its Region

One important factor which justifies the existence of GIAE is that it offers the people of the Gippsland region—in both an educational and social sense—an alternative. The mere existence of an autonomous academic institution in a region dominated by semi-government bureaucracies and with a large proportion of the population devoted to highly utilitarian tasks is important in itself. The Martin and Wark Reports envisaged the introduction of liberalizing influences in the transformation of technical colleges into CAEs. Liberal education has become an integral part of GIAE—possibly to a degree that goes beyond what Wark and Martin had in mind. It is a liberal education which can be justified in its own right, and one that provides some opportunity for students enrolled in science and technology courses to broaden their social and cultural horizons.

There is, as one might expect, some strain between the requirements of specialized courses, particularly in the technologies, and the amount of time students can devote to courses with broader social and cultural emphasis. Some members of the Institute believe that broadening courses in the liberal arts and humanities for technology students is largely a waste of time. They would like to see such courses specifically tailored to the vocational needs of engineering and applied science students. GIAE has both the structure and the environment for an exciting and meaningful integration between the scientific/technical and liberal/humanities aspects of higher learning. The trend in recent years in Australia has been to reinforce the study of traditional courses using traditional teaching methods. This is largely a result of the fact that people believe, often quite unreasonably, that economic failure and high unemployment is somehow a result of educational practices. However, if the CAEs are to provide a true alternative form of higher education, they must be given some latitude to explore and innovate.

A Bachelor of Technology

In the previous chapter, various reasons were given for the Institute's present emphasis on engineering courses in particular, and the technologies in general. It was also shown that the Institute lacks both the facilities and, more importantly, the student numbers for any significant expansion of engineering and applied science. In an interview, a member of the School of Applied Science stated that he believed that the Institute had made a mistake in establishing both engineering and applied science: 'it should have developed either engineering or applied science'. He based this observation on the fact that the number of HSC students in the Gippsland region with maths/science backgrounds was quite limited, and splitting them between the two areas did not provide sufficient enrolments for either. He believed that what the Institute should do is 'grasp the nettle and combine the two into something quite new: a Bachelor of Technology. It is this type of innovation which CAEs should be making; it is on our shoulders more than on those of the universities'.[3] For several reasons, such a concept has merit. It is well suited to the multi-disciplinary degree structure of the Institute, and the environment in which the Institute is placed.

There are difficulties to be overcome—the professional recognition of such a course, and employer recognition for its graduates. Further, there is the conservatism which develops in recessionary times and stands against educational innovation. Even so, the Institute should not ignore the possibilities: a Bachelor of Technology or a Bachelor of Technology and Science could meet several requirements in a course design with a common foundation year and then subsequent streaming. A student would only specialize after the first year of degree work, and even then the option of a double major in, say, highly technical subjects and subjects in the social sciences should be possible. There is no reason why such an educational program could not cater for students with a variety of interests and backgrounds. Many of the newer educational institutions, both within Australia and abroad, have attempted to build educational programs around a similar concept, and it may be worthwhile for members of GIAE to investigate what is being done at other institutions.[4]

The purpose here is to provide one example of how educational innovation might be achieved. A further strength of such a degree is that it would fit well with the major topics of research within the Gippsland region. The region provides a huge natural laboratory for the scientist, the social scientist and the historian. Possibly, the Institute should consider establishing a unit concerned with the study of science and technology from a scientific, social, economic and historical point of view.

Plate 6 Yarram Farm Land with the Loy Yang Power Station in the Distance

The Role of Research

On several occasions in the past, there were attempts to establish research facilities on or near the GIAE campus. For example, in 1979 the Central Gippsland Regional Planning Authority Interim Committee in conjunction with GIAE and several other local organizations prepared a submission to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Works regarding the location of a research laboratory complex for the CSIRO's Division of Chemical Technology. The submission argued that since the Division was mainly concerned with applying 'chemical technology, and particularly polymer technology, to developing ways whereby Australia's forestry, agricultural, water resources and wastes can be more effectively utilised', the ideal location for the laboratory would be in the Latrobe Valley, adjacent to GIAE. (Central Gippsland Regional Planning Authority, 1979, p.3) This location would also allow for a sharing of expertise between the Institute and the laboratory. However, metropolitan institutions presented more compelling arguments and the laboratory was established in Melbourne.

During 1980 the Institute hoped that a brown coal research laboratory would be established on the Churchill campus, as well as the office of the CSIRO's forest research division. But neither of these hopes had seen fruition by the end of the field research period. In 1978 a lecturer in English, Mr P. Morgan, suggested the establishment of courses in Gippsland studies which might eventually lead to the creation of a research centre for Gippsland studies.[5] He envisaged that the courses and the centre would be involved with a variety of issues: Gippsland history, and contemporary Gippsland problems of mining, energy, water resources, environment and pollution, timber, rural industries, politics, and so on. Morgan's proposal, however, was over-shadowed by his conflict with the Council.

For several years members of GIAE have been involved with externally funded research projects. However, it is highly unlikely that GIAE will ever be a major autonomous research institute—in either the technologies or the social sciences. In fact, the 1981 TEC Report, while supportive of research within the universities, did not provide any equivalent endorsement for research within the CAEs. The Institute has neither the facilities nor the depth, in terms of staff expertise, to be a significant research organization. There are no sound educational arguments for the government to increase GIAE's funds dramatically in order to turn it into a research organization.

Any proposed GIAE research centre would have to be established in conjunction with several other institutions: universities, government authorities and private industry. It could usefully be a coordinating device and a clearing house for information. Another purpose would be to attract to the region, for a set period of time, various scholars and researchers interested in the unique empirical cases which the region presents. These would range from issues in rural sociology, history and the environment to those in engineering and science. There is no logical reason why all research needs to be self-contained within individual institutions. The centre need not employ outside scholars and researchers; they could remain attached to their home institution.

The advantages to the region of stimulating more research are obvious. There is a pressing need for more historical work to be done on the Gippsland region—particularly in the area of oral history. The Latrobe Valley faces many problems concerning air and water pollution which require further research. The investigation of the social and economic impact of highly capital intensive, mineral resources based industries on rural populations is of significance to both the region and the nation. Attracting a diverse group of researchers to the Institute would further the Institute's basic purpose of teaching students at the tertiary level. The research centre could develop mechanisms which would allow visiting scholars either to deliver guest lectures or to teach on a part-time basis. If, on the other hand, this suggestion interfered with the Institute's basic purpose of teaching students, then it would prove to be a retrograde step.

Liberal Education and the 'Counter-Saga'

Regarding the general issue of liberal education at GIAE, it must be stressed that courses presently offered in the social sciences, humanities, and visual arts provide opportunities to the people of Gippsland for social and cultural enrichment. With the current financial situation and the hope for future wealth and expanded employment opportunities via the minerals/energy resources boom, some people within and without the Institute regard courses in politics, visual arts, English literature, sociology, etc. as esoteric and extraneous to the central task of training people for employment in commerce and industry. It is surprising that such attitudes persisted, at least at GIAE. The attitude was remarked upon by Murray-Smith in 1970:

> The one really worrying thing about the colleges is that too often one feels they do not really know what humane values are. They are not, for instance, something that you strive to arouse an interest in. They are a person's way of life . . .
>
> And, incidentally, they are not to be taught to help people to 'adapt' to life or to become aware of the 'role' they can play in a balanced community: they are to be taught to make them dissatisfied, unhappy and unbalanced individuals. By and large I do not think this is understood in the colleges . . .

Many members of GIAE have long been aware of the general sentiments expressed by the above statement. A high proportion of students are in the process of upgrading qualifications for the purpose of career advancement, and in this sense—whether they are enrolled in business studies or politics courses—students are studying primarily for vocational reasons. For both the bank manager enrolled for a business degree and the full-time housewife majoring in

English, the liberalizing effect of many of the courses is apparent. This is largely the result of the dedication, enthusiasm, and teaching skills of the majority of staff. It is impossible to measure with any degree of precision the extent of liberal influences within an educational program. By talking with students and observing lectures and tutorials one gets a feel for the educational process which is occurring within an institution—however nebulous and ill-defined that process may be. At GIAE there are staff dedicated to providing sound academic courses while at the same time broadening the cultural and social outlook of their students.

This process, as one might expect, has been 'mythologized'; that is, staff have constructed stories, based on historical fact, but embellished with emotion and sentiment through constant re-telling, which symbolizes the educational process itself and their commitment to it. It may be useful to have a brief look at some of these myths.

Academic staff at nearly every academic institution tend to talk at length about a few special students. Though the individuals they speak about are unique, the stories come to symbolize a general category of students and what makes teaching in a particular institution worthwhile. For staff at GIAE, Arthur Leslie Martin was one of these exceptional people and a number of staff recounted his intellectual career—a career cut short by his untimely and tragic death.

Arthur Martin came from South Gippsland and, according to informants, was somewhat on the fringe while at school. 'He was one of those country kids who could not live in Melbourne, and he had enormous doubts about his intellectual potential'. Few of his teachers at school gave him much hope of academic success. Nevertheless, he enrolled at GIAE for the internal B.A. degree.

According to those who knew him, everything began to click for Arthur Martin at GIAE. 'He asked the big philosophical questions', said one staff member, 'the causes of his own alienation and that of the community in which he lived'. He came to the Institute severely lacking in self-confidence. Though he had a good deal of trouble with certain subjects, such as statistics, he soon became one of the most challenging and interesting people to teach. His imagination and creativity were stimulated by his interaction with staff and other students, and through his contact with such subjects as politics, literature and sociology. He became a phenomenon among staff, and gained a strong following among a certain section of the student body.

He had only a few credit points to complete for his B.A. degree when, tragically, he was killed in a road accident. The myth of Arthur Martin is based as much on his funeral, as on his intellectual career. Staff and students provided the family with a great deal of help and support during their time of bereavement, which the family publicly acknowledged: 'We would especially like to thank Mr Patrick Morgan, Dr John Milton-Smith, staff and students of the GIAE for their attendance and help during these last weeks' (*Foster Mirror*, 18 May 1977). Though this was a simple expression of appreciation, staff noted that it gave them a sense of belonging to the local community, and all those who told the story mentioned this aspect.

At the funeral service, the minister made reference to Arthur Martin's student days at GIAE and, according to informants, said that his life had not been lived in vain because of the knowledge and self-awareness he had gained. Many of the staff paid their last respects at the graveside—a sombre, rural setting in South Gippsland—where, in the sorrow of the occasion, they shared a feeling that their work and efforts in Gippsland had a reason and purpose. Many of the sentiments expressed in the story of Arthur Martin are summed up by one of the following lines from the death notices: So many dreams unfulfilled, so many plans undone. Tragic loss of a brilliant mind (*Foster Mirror*, 28 April 1977). He was awarded his B.A. degree posthumously in 1978.

During a conversation with one GIAE lecturer, I asked whether the expenditure of public money on GIAE was justified. He answered my query by telling a story about another student. Several years ago, a young woman from the region had approached him at a social gathering and enquired about studying at the Institute. She was a married full-time housewife with small children, and had dropped out of school before completing her HSC studies to run a home and raise a family. Like many young married women in the region, she had had few opportunities to travel beyond Gippsland. Moreover, she disliked large cities and had been to Melbourne only a couple of times in her life. (Staff members noted that some of their students had never been to Melbourne.) The lecturer encouraged her to enrol as a mature-age student in the B.A. external study program at the Institute. Though interested, she expressed a feeling of inadequacy about her ability to do further study. Over several months the lecturer continued to encourage her to attempt the B.A. program, and eventually she decided to enrol. For several years, she studied part-time and externally. She religiously attended weekend and vacation schools, even though this meant arranging child care facilities for her young children—often she would have to bring her children to the lectures. Balancing the requirements of study with her domestic duties put some strain on the marriage, but she was one of the Institute's best students, and eventually graduated with high marks in all her subjects. The lecturer felt that through her experience at GIAE her horizons had been broadened, and that, though she still had no desire to leave Gippsland, she had experienced a world which stretched far beyond the region. This was the lecturer's answer—this is what made it all worthwhile for him.

There were many other similar stories, springing from the same or similar historical events, and expressing the same themes: the extension of educational opportunities in what was regarded as an educationally and culturally deprived region, and the expansion of the social, intellectual and cultural horizons of students who might not otherwise imagine a world beyond the boundaries of Gippsland. In the sense that Clark (1975) uses the term, these stories or myths constitute part of GIAE's 'saga'. They do not form one overall saga which binds members of the organization together. Rather, they are part of the 'counter-saga' adhered to by only one segment of the institution.

It was discussed in Chapter 6 that part of the counter-saga was based on instances of internal conflict and dispute. The purpose here has been to illustrate some of the more positive aspects of the symbols and myths of academic staff. Even in this regard there is the potential for conflict, for there is a fear that changes in the Institute's aims and objectives may displace, completely, the general/liberal aspects of the teaching program with a hard professional/technological educational model.

External Studies

It would be a pity to think that Australia was so impoverished that it could not afford to maintain and extend educational opportunities in a region as culturally and educationally deprived as Gippsland. The extension of educational opportunities, particularly for women—whether it is called 'humanistic' or criticized for being non-vocational—is one of GIAE's primary social functions. External studies for Gippsland women present the participants with several problems. There is the strain between finding time for study and the responsibilities of running a home, raising a family and often being engaged in either part-time or full-time employment: in terms of social attitudes, Gippsland is a highly conservative region. One purpose of many of the B.A. courses is to challenge established attitudes and opinions, which makes it difficult for some women to fit back easily into their friendship and family networks. Some husbands resent the fact that their wives are becoming more educated than themselves. The weekend and vacation schools, with their dances, parties, and other forms of extra-curricular activity, provide the opportunity for many married women to enjoy themselves for a couple of days away from the responsibilities of the home. Both staff members and students commented on how a few husbands would not allow their wives to attend weekend and vacation schools for this very reason. However, the majority of stories which married women told with regard to their study experiences were ones of support, compassion, and understanding by partners and family. Nearly every story was about fundamental change in home routine, but there were few students who did not think that, in the end, the benefits of their studies outweighed the difficulties they encountered.

It needs to be recognized that the external arts degree provides a limited number of course options and, because of the financial situation, there is little possibility for the Institute to broaden the range of courses within the degree—even if Institute leaders wished to. These circumstances should encourage members to look to other organizations which can provide the courses which GIAE lacks. As discussed in the previous chapter, institutional autonomy and feelings of loyalty often prevent inter-organizational co-operation. None the less, there are sound educational reasons why members of the Institute should seek help from other organizations in an attempt to expand the range and variety of courses which can be made available to the people of Gippsland.

GIAE and the Community College Concept

During different periods in the history of Australian tertiary education, educators and others have considered establishing community colleges. The Martin Committee investigated the community college model in the early 1960s, and interest was renewed in the concept following the report by John Dennison (1976) (a Canadian Professor of Education) to the Poverty Commission. Dennison argued strongly for the introduction of community colleges into Australia, and it is interesting to note that he visited Gippsland during his stay in Australia in 1976 (Hopper, 1979, p.51).

A true amalgamation of GIAE and YTC might create a community college along the lines of the North American community (junior) college model. Any consideration of the concept should be informed by Harman's (1979, p.121) comments that 'one major problem in the current discussion about community colleges is that the term "community college" is being used in many different ways, and often those who use the term fail to make explicit the precise meaning they wish to convey'. Harman shows that there is no one Canadian or North American model for the community college, but a variety of different types of institutions with diverse goals and purposes. For this and other reasons, he believes that a straight-out transplantation of overseas community college models in Australia would not be desirable.[6]

It is not very useful to attempt to relate the North American community college model in all its varieties to the Gippsland region. However, there are three aspects that are common to most community colleges which require consideration in terms of the present discussion: student access to a variety of non-degree, para-professional type courses; the restriction of degree work in the colleges to the first two years of study; and the related notion of transfer from a community college to a university for the completion of degree studies.

There are various reasons why members of GIAE may wish to look more closely at establishing a greater variety of lower-level, para-professional types of courses. Many residents of the Gippsland region lack the qualifications for formal degree study, and many may not wish to gain them. Yet they may desire some form of tertiary study, and should be given the opportunity to obtain it locally. An amalgamation of GIAE and YTC would certainly increase the range and variety of associate diploma, para-professional and other lower-level courses which could be made available. This would occur basically through the removal of the stifling effects of CAE/TAFE rivalry. Several staff members were found to have innovative ideas on running lower-level courses. For example, the Head of Social Sciences (who also ran the welfare course) wished to introduce a one-year part-time program which would deal with the general problems and processes of a welfare society. The course would be designed for nurses, bank managers, law enforcement officers, and others who had to deal directly with the public on a day-to-day basis. He felt that with high unemployment and a furthering of the gulf between the haves and the have nots within Australian society, people in positions of public responsibility would be increasingly faced with clients suffering from social dislocation. The course would not make welfare workers out of bank managers and nurses, but would provide information on the type and availability of various support agencies.[7] However, it was difficult even to think about implementing such ideas in the context of TAFE/CAE sectoral rivalry and CAE sector restrictions.

An amalgamation of the two institutions has advantages in that Gippsland lacks people with the appropriate qualifications to study in the technologies at degree level. In addition, it seems that the manpower requirements in such fields as engineering continually shift between the para-professional and professional areas. By bringing the training of all professional and para-professional personnel under the umbrella of one organization, appropriate mechanisms could be more readily devised to allow students to transfer from one area to the other, as well as aiding both the institution and the state coordinating authority in balancing student numbers between professional and para-professional areas. Possibly the preliminary year, through providing the appropriate bridging courses, could assist in the transfer process.

Members of GIAE should make every attempt at forming relationships with metropolitan institutions for the purpose of transferring course credits for students who wish to study at those institutions. Students, individually, can approach any institution they choose with regard to course transfer. But the process needs to be formally regulated, with a view to expediting it (see Williams, 1979). Either through personal preference or the mere fact that the range of courses taught at GIAE is limited, there will always be some students who will want to transfer from GIAE. GIAE has already established some formal relationships with other institutions along these lines, but the process needs to be extended and diversified, with GIAE forming transfer relationships with a variety of institutions, including the universities.

It would be undesirable for GIAE to be seen merely as a feeder college for metropolitan institutions, or for it to be restricted to the first two years of degree work, with students automatically transferring to metropolitan institutions. The Institute should retain its degrees and, as suggested above, expand and diversify them through more meaningful associations with other institutions. Because of their educational and symbolic significance, it is quite likely that the local population would complain vehemently if the degrees were removed from GIAE.

Summary

The suggestions for possible future developments within GIAE made in this chapter are not detailed proposals—they are only suggestions. They are put forward in the light of the analysis which has been presented in previous chapters. The goals of GIAE should not be restricted to those of narrow vocationalism in either technological or non-technological subjects; rather, the college should develop around a philosophy of educational variety and extended educational opportunity. In order to fulfil the requirements of such a philosophy, the Institute should look to other institutions for support and, in the process, it may need to forego some of its own institutional autonomy. In other words, GIAE should be seen as both instigating and facilitating educational opportunities for the people of Gippsland. Various structural and political difficulties present implementation problems, for some of these proposals cut across the current sectors and funding formulae. There is a strong case to be made for adopting a different approach, recognizing the distinction between the multiplicity of needs in a rural setting, and the variety of alternatives in metropolitan areas.

PART V

CONCLUSION

11

A BRIEF THEORETICAL REVIEW

The understanding of human behaviour is impossible without the use of theory. As Kouzes and Mico (1979, p.450–1) put it, 'people develop theories to organize and describe their experiences, to predict consequences of their future behaviours, and to better control the conditions influencing their lives' . . . Some social scientists engaged in evaluative studies have been inclined to believe that their research is more applied than theoretical. This stance ignores two fundamental points: that all observation, as discussed in Chapter 1, is theory dependent; and that the structures of the social systems under observation are themselves based upon theory (Schon, 1971). Social structures do not occur at random. Rather, the particular social structures which people create are based on numerous premises about the nature of human behaviour, and people believe that some structures are better than others in eliciting certain desired human responses. As well as assessing the practical and pragmatic factors associated with the achievement of stated goals and aims, the researcher interested in the nature, character, and function of complex organizations must examine participants' theories, symbols, and world views. To do this without the use of theory is an impossible task.

The principal line of social cleavage within GIAE has been identified as the result of individuals and groups holding to different attitudes and values about the purpose of the institution and how it should be structured. The top echelon of the administration and many members of Council exhibited support for a hierarchical command structure, based on management principles drawn from the world of commerce and industry; academic staff, particularly those in the non-technological areas, held to participatory traditional notions of academic self-government.

Within all professional organizations—including colleges and universities—a degree of conflict between the professional body and the central bureaucracy is common. The professional member wishes to make the basic decisions which affect his professional role within the organization, such as what to teach and how to teach it, and he also wants the maximum amount of resources for his activities. The bureaucrat, on the other hand, has the responsibility of allocating scarce resources to all functional areas, and will often have a broader picture of the various political forces which impinge on the organization's development. At GIAE, this general form of organizational conflict was elevated to the level of fundamental ideological (in the narrow sense of the word) cleavage.

The norms, values, theories, world views, etc., of GIAE academic staff on the one hand, and those of members of Council and the top echelon of the administration on the other, differed so radically that useful dialogue between the two groups was extremely difficult to achieve. Each group formed a separate organizational sub-culture, and developed divergent symbols and myths which they attached to the Institute's history and development—what was termed in Chapter 6 as the 'saga' and the 'counter-saga'.

Emotion and sentiment are important aspects of complex organizations, for organizations are more than a collection of rational-legalistic bureaucratic forms and structures. The stories which members of GIAE had to tell about the history of the organization, about development in the face of adversity and about their various achievements and exploits, helped to reinforce emotional bonds within the groups and to socialize new recruits into the way of the organization. The various organizational myths had their roots in historical fact, and offered explanations of how GIAE was able to grow and develop despite adverse circumstances. The Director and key members of Council often publicly expressed how they were able to advance GIAE in spite of the external threats imposed by the 1972 funding cuts and the recommendations of the Partridge committee. Academic staff had shared stories about their activities in helping to protect and advance the organization, and about how they had worked over the years to extend educational opportunities in what they regarded as an educationally and culturally deprived region. The various legends served a symbolic function within the organization that went well beyond their factual content, and they constituted sagas in the sense that they were embellished with emotion and sentiment through constant re-telling (see Clark, 1975).

Clark (1980) and Baldridge (1975) note that, while some institutions may have very strong sagas, others will develop quite weak ones; they believe that the structure and function of organizational belief systems should be viewed in terms of a continuum. According to Baldridge (1975):

> At one end of the continuum would be organizations with sharply defined sagas, widely shared among participants and reinforced by the environment. At the other end would be organizations with weak sagas or flabby fragmented beliefs, poorly articulated, that produce many subunit goals that have no unifying effect.

The evidence collected at GIAE suggests the occurrence of a different phenomenon—that is, organizational members may develop competing myths and symbolic belief systems, which in turn offer different emotional and sentimental interpretations of the organization's history. One might hypothesize that the greater the degree of structural strain and dispute over basic philosophical ideals within that portion of the exogenous environment with which members have their most direct interaction—in this case the CAE sector—the greater is the likelihood that competing and contradictory organizational myths and belief systems will develop.

Members of GIAE developed two sets of organizational myths or symbolic belief systems: one set was believed in by members of academic staff (particularly those in the non-technological areas) and the other set commanded the allegiance of the top echelon of the administration and Council. The myths of each group offered an emotive explanation of GIAE's history which claimed that that group had advanced the institution despite the activities of the other. Contained within each myth were explanations—based on fact, but embellished with emotion and expanded through constant retelling—of a saga of dispute and dissension with the other group. These symbolic belief systems served as powerful social forces for continuing the animosity between the old timers, and for convincing new recruits to one group that members of the other group were to be viewed as the enemy. The saga and counter-saga not only provided contrary emotive viewpoints of the organization's history, but also perpetuated the basic ideological cleavages.

It has been suggested that, for members of GIAE to establish more appropriate conflict resolving mechanisms, the academic process may need strengthening: both structurally, through better codification of bureaucratic procedure and through providing the Academic Board with greater powers and responsibilities, and symbolically, through a greater recognition of the importance of the academic norms and values which pertain to higher education institutions. It has also been suggested that some of the structural problems experienced by members of GIAE are, on one level of analysis, a reflection of some of the ambiguities and unintended consequences of development of the CAE system as a whole. While poorly institutionalized internal organizational systems 'facilitate power-related conflicts, the contradictions and conflicts that arise during [the] . . . process of institutionalization are also partly founded on each system's relations with its environments' (Pettigrew,1973, p.271).

The colleges were to have equality with the universities in terms of course standards and institutional prestige, but because of their applied and vocational nature, they, supposedly, occupied a different educational domain. As the colleges developed, there was a tendency for some emulation of the universities. There was also the tendency for blame for any diversion of the colleges away from their vocational charter to be placed on the scholastic and academic inclinations of rank and file staff—so-called upward academic drift. This may have helped to create a link between the perceived need to contain upward academic drift and the creation of hierarchical authority structures. The notion that the CAEs, relative to the universities, were to serve, more immediately, the needs and requirements of commerce and industry may have contributed to a belief that the structure of the CAEs should resemble those of commerce and industry. Furthermore, such factors may take on a particular significance in a region where the dominant organizational model is that of a powerful semi-government agency (see Puffin, 1975, p.39). Institute policy makers have been inclined to tie their aims and objectives to those of industry, commerce and the community through administrative fiat. The hierarchical bureaucratic structure emphasizing the role of executive management may be merely a reflection of what members see as the CAE sector ideal type of structure.

However, several aspects of the structure of GIAE clash with many of the norms and values basic to higher education institutions. Academic organizations have developed an elaborate pattern of socialization, enculturation, and induction. The discipline is the basic unit of socialization, and such norms and values as academic freedom, critical inquiry, democratic participation in decision making, allegiance to the canons of a discipline, and so on, influence the behaviour of academics—whether they actually believe in these norms and values or not. Academics often take a radical, anti-establishment view of the society in which they live, and research has suggested that the more academics are successful in their respective disciplines, the more likely their political views will tend to be left of centre (Ladd and Lipset, 1975). When it comes to protecting and conserving the values and norms of their disciplines and their institutions, the behaviour of academics can border on the reactionary (Halsey and Trow, 1971).

The ideological cleavage within GIAE was also shaped by various forces within the immediate environment. The conflict was not only over the structure of the Institute, but also involved the purpose of a regional college. Basically, the conflict was between consolidation around the technological areas and the extension of non-technological educational opportunities which had never before existed in the Gippsland region. Institute leaders are currently emphasizing courses in engineering and applied science, in the belief that this will secure the position of the Institute in its environment. It is no coincidence that this phenomenon has occurred at the time when the SEC has planned, or commenced to build, new power stations, and the nation as a whole has expected the return to economic prosperity through a mineral resources boom. Since the late 1920s, educational activities within the Latrobe Valley have been tied to the needs and requirements of the SEC, and have been justified in terms of industrial expansion and growth. This has not produced a distinctive technological education institution, nor has it created either a social or economic infrastructure independent of SEC activities. There are those who believe that the growth of GIAE is closely tied to the expected continuous economic growth and development of the Latrobe Valley. However it is likely that the future rate of development will continue to be the halting, intermittent pattern that has been established over the last 60 years, with employment opportunities within the Valley remaining highly imbalanced. GIAE is probably the only institution within the Latrobe Valley which has helped to alleviate the dependence of the region on the SEC, and which has presented an alternative to the technological and materialistic world view which dominates the region.

Those who use political models to explain behaviour within complex organizations (Baldridge, 1971; Conrad, 1978; Pettigrew, 1973; Pfeffer, 1977; Salancik and Pfeffer, 1981; van den Berghe, 1973) tend to treat conflict as being functional for the organization, and as a natural element in the human condition. Political models are generally based on 'conflict theories of social order' (see Coser, 1956; Dahrendorf, 1959). This set of theories assumes that social order is not maintained through individuals internalizing norms and values governing their role behaviour, but that the unity of the whole is created through the 'very fluidity and instability of internal alignments' (van den Berghe, 1973, p.263). Alliances shift as the issues shift, and today's enemy may be tomorrow's friend. Political models of organizational behaviour and conflict theory assume that it would be a strategic folly for any one group totally to alienate another group, and that the mechanism which members devise for resolving conflict will have a positive impact on the development of the organization. Rather than polarization, social conflict, in the end, creates social unity.

Though members of GIAE experienced a high degree of social conflict, this did not destroy the organization: no one group was prepared to kill the institutional 'goose which lays the golden eggs' (van den Berghe, 1973, p.262). As is typical of a variety of higher education institutions, much of the conflict within GIAE centred around members' allegiances to the various intellectual disciplines. The multi-disciplinary degree structure and the size of the Institute helped to prevent every discipline, such as economics and sociology, physics and chemistry, etc., competing with each other. None the less, there was a significant degree of conflict between staff in the technological and the non-technological areas, with a particularly sharp difference in both the material interests and world views of engineers and social scientists. Over certain issues, such as the 1974 dispute involving the role of the B.A. degree, members of the School of Business and Social Sciences saw that they were in conflict with the School of Education. Members belonging to the School of Visual Arts have, largely, stood apart from the rest of the Institute. Members of the Schools of Engineering and Applied Science more or less co-exist with each other. While both areas are involved with the technologies, they have not, except when it is in their immediate mutual interest to do so, formed a strong alliance. The fact that there was a variety of competing interest groups did not alone threaten overall stability.

Within GIAE, classic discipline rivalry coincided with other attitudinal cleavages, such as the difference in attitudes and behaviour of cosmopolitan and local staff. Though the advanced education sector was founded upon the principles of vocational and applied courses in the technologies, such colleges as GIAE had to develop the non-technological areas of liberal arts, social science, teacher education, and so on, in order to survive. In the initial years of development, GIAE leaders hoped to develop a new image for the organization—an image that stressed its tertiary nature and which would attract the HSC matriculant interested in non-techological subjects. To achieve this goal, Institute leaders, particularly the Director, believed that it was more important to recruit cosmopolitan staff with professional expertise and higher degrees than to promote the interests of local staff, who were concentrated in engineering and applied science. In more recent years, as threats from the exogenous environment—both real and perceived—have intensified, organizational leaders have discovered the importance of institutional loyalty and have turned to staff in the technologies for the expression of this sentiment.

Staff in engineering and applied science in the early years of development realized that they needed the non-technological areas in order to secure the Institute's, and thus their own, survival. Currently, staff in the general areas of arts, visual arts, and teacher education are becoming increasingly dependent upon the technologies for their survival. This change in circumstance has not lessened the degree of conflict between the two groups; they still compete with each other for their share of scarce financial resources. Each group, while recognizing its dependence upon the other, claims that it is the real heart and soul of the Institute, while the other is merely the facade. However all of the various competing groups function—at least partially—in such a way that the overall survival of the organization is assured.

On this level of analysis, the political model, particularly as it is formulated by Baldridge (1971, p.19–26) explains much of the behaviour within GIAE. In the endogenous environment there are numerous interest groups in competition with each other over scarce resources, and decisions are made within a climate of interest articulation → policy decision → execution → generation of new conflicts. Political models and conflict theory (as they are normally constructed) do not take sufficient account of normative behaviour, the occurrence of conflict through normative opposition, and the fact that conflict may, under certain circumstances, be dysfunctional and tend to polarize the organization. For these reasons the political model does not entirely provide adequate explanations of social behaviour within GIAE. The political model assumes from the outset that all participants understand and accept the rules of the game, and that groups consciously recognize the strategic folly of totally alienating other groups. The model runs into difficulty when faced with a situation where the main conflict is over the very structure and purpose of the organization. Under such circumstances, the rules of the game are themselves brought into question. Groups are inclined to speak different languages, and interact with each other on different social and intellectual planes, thus impeding the development of conflict resolving mechanisms. On occasion, conflict within GIAE became symmetric, splitting the social fabric into two warring camps. While the basic ideological cleavage over the structure and purpose of the Institute was latent within the organization from the beginning, it became manifest with the first hint of internal crisis. Some organizations may simply experience ever-deepening circles of conflict, and maladjustment to their environment, without evolving mechanisms to resolve the conflict or to change their patterns of human relationships.

There are no simple strategies for the effective management of conflict and change within complex organizations, or for strengthening organizational unity. Approaches available from the relevant literature range from human relations models, which emphasize social psychological factors, to traditional structural-functional models, which stress line-staff arrangements and formal authority structures. For example, Golembriewski (1967, p.6) writes that 'calling for change in staff behaviour is no substitute for appropriate changes in structure and technique'; while Lawler (1973, p.6) states that 'if we are ever to have effective organizations we must understand how to encourage effective individual performance'.

There is a growing body of evidence to suggest that past research has drawn a false dichotomy between structure and human behaviour. An appropriate structure and leadership style may be a necessary but not sufficient condition for organizational effectiveness; organizational culture or climate, as such factors are created by particular actors under specific historical circumstances, must also be appropriate. In any case, this seems to be one conclusion to be drawn from the present study. Much more research is required on the phenomenon of organizational culture, including members' ideologies, belief systems, folklores, myths, etc; for a change in members' formal pattern of interrelationships can be more readily achieved, at least superfically, than can a change in culture or climate.

Scholars such as Gouldner and Clark have made valuable contributions to the understanding of the emotional, cultural and symbolic aspects of complex organizations. Researchers who have studied these aspects of organizational life have tended to treat emotional and cultural factors in isolation from wider problems of power and control. While cultural factors within the organization may well operate as independent variables, a more systematic interchange between theories of culture and theories of power and conflict is required.

While the political model, with its emphasis on power and conflict, is the most appropriate one available for understanding the dynamics of complex organizations, it requires some alteration in order to take greater account of organizational culture. As already suggested, the *a priori* assumption of the political model that conflict is always normal and functional—arising from a division of labour which is inevitably unequal—ignores the theoretical possibility that certain ideologically or culturally based cleavages may tend to threaten organizational unity on a grand scale. A brief extension of this criticism may point the way to some useful modifications of the political model.

Power—its use, control and manipulation—is the underpinning concept of the political model. There is no doubt that the model is most apt at explaining conflict in terms of the way in which power is structured and mobilized within an organization. Baldridge, for example, provides a thorough account of the structure of power within New York University, and of how organizational unity was maintained through the political compromise of the conflicting interests of staff, students and administrators over the future of the University. His examination of the structural sources of instability in decision making fails, as Millett (1978, p.15–7) observes, to locate power struggles within the wider context of organizational purpose, style and content of governance, and the general ambience of the university. Power not only flows from the immediate structure of the situation, but is contained and directed by historical precedents and cultural forces which fall outside the articulation of group interest and conflict at any one particular point in time. The partial inability of the political model to come to terms with wider cultural, historical and ideological issues may be because the theory of power itself on which the model is commonly based ignores the cultural and historical circumstances under which power arises.

In several places it has been noted that the concept of power within the political model of complex organizations is either implicitly or explicitly based on Emerson's (1962) dependency theory (see Blau, 1964; Pettigrew, 1973, pp.26–30; Pfeffer, 1981, p.101; Robinson, 1982, p.106–7;). 'Dependency is', according to Pettigrew (1973), 'a product of an imbalance of exchange between individuals and the ability of one actor to control others through his possession of resources' (p.27). As Robinson (1982) observes, a theory which regards power primarily as arising from the control and exchange of resources which others want or need 'assumes free market conditions for its operation' (p.107). In other words, dependency theory assumes that the market in which power brokerage takes place is constrained by no other factors than the ability of actors to obtain and exchange resources to the detriment of others. Moreover, the theory concentrates on the processes of resource exchange to the extent that the meanings and norms of the conscious actor may be lost sight of.

The ability of an organizational member to control resources, which may range from control over finances to control over knowledge and information, may make others dependent upon him and give him power over them. This is only one aspect of power, which, if taken no further in the analysis, treats power relations in an ahistorical and acultural fashion. The starting point for an analysis of power needs to be the normative, historical and ideological context in which certain types of power relationships (both formal and informal) are sanctioned, for it is these factors which will determine the way in which resources can be controlled and exchanged. Clearly, the content of the situation in which power is operationalized and has meaning is culturally and historically specific. For example, while governments in, say, Iran and the USA may both depend upon obtaining and controlling scarce and essential resources in order to exercise power, the content, style and character of power relations in the two countries are vastly different. 'The management of power', notes Robinson (1982), 'reflects wider issues, amongst which is the maintenance of economic advantage, the protection of status as well as mechanisms within the organization itself' (p.108).

The political model directs the researcher's attention at delineating the structural sources of power and conflict within an organization and in so doing, frees the researcher from the old images of the organization as being either a well-oiled machine or a commune of people bonded together by common values and purpose. Authors such as Baldridge (1971), Pettigrew (1973), Pfeffer (1981), and Salanick and Pfeffer (1977), are quite correct to emphasize the ubiquity of power within complex organizations, and to claim it as a fundamental reference point for analysis. But power is not merely a product of the control and exchange of resources; it is embedded in the very nature of both the organization itself and its relationship with the environment. As Giddens (1976, p.161) states, meanings, norms, and power are three concepts which 'are analytically equivalent as the "primitive" terms of social science, and are logically implicated both in the notion of intentional action and that of structure: every cognitive and moral order is at the same time a system of power, involving a "horizon of legitimacy"'.

The call for organizational analysis to set power in the context of wider social issues. and, thus, provide a better understanding of the complex interplay between structure, culture and human action, has theoretical, methodological and practical implications. In terms of theory, a more adequate conceptualization of power might begin with the many works of Max Weber. Robinson (1982, p.108), in reviewing

Pfeffer (1981), notes that 'Weber was concerned with the issues Pfeffer addresses, particularly the delineation of conflict along lines of class, status and party'. While organizational analysis has drawn heavily on Weber's theory of bureaucracy, it has paid little attention to the rest of his sociology. The many recent theoretical works of Giddens (see in particular 1976 and 1979) are also highly useful to anyone wishing to rethink the concept of power. The main theoretical point here is that our theories of organizational behaviour must ultimately explain how members produce and reproduce social reality under particular structural, cultural and historical circumstances. This requires that power be analysed not merely as a process involving the control and exchange of resources, but as part and parcel of the meanings and norms which conscious actors employ in producing social reality.

Theory and method are highly interrelated, for method is never atheoretical (Gans, 1962, p.336; Pettigrew, 1973, p.55). Social theory has little or no meaning outside the empirical and the methods used to render it intelligible. The task of the social scientist is to observe and describe the actions of human beings and their characterizations of social reality: social science is the researcher's interpretation of the layman's interpretation of what he and his compatriots are up to (Geertz, 1973, p.10). In a similar vein, Giddens (1976, p.161) states that, while the social scientist must transform his observations and descriptions 'into categories of social-scientific discourse', the 'mutual knowledge' which the researcher shares with laymen 'is not a series of corrigible items, but represents the interpretative schemes which both sociologists and laymen use, and must use, to "make sense" of social activity, i.e. to generate "recognizable" characteristics of it'. Giddens goes on to state that 'immersion in a form of life is the necessary and only means whereby an observer is able to generate such characterizations'. The methodological implication of these observations for organizational analysis is not merely that more researchers need to spend extended periods of time in the field, but that the starting point for analysis must be the conscious actor, and that, to understand what people are up to, the researcher must share their interpretative schemes in the context of real situations. This approach sharply focuses the researcher's attention on the meanings—which may involve myths and folklores as well as 'rational' interpretations—which conscious actors, under specific structural and historical circumstances, attach to power relations.

Practitioners (i.e. those who are associated with the operation and management of organizations) may find it useful to relate questions of power within the organization to issues of culture and climate. Practitioners have given a great deal of attention to the design and redesign of formal authority structures—usually regarded as the legitimate structuring of power—in organizations. As indicated above, a formal structure constituted in ignorance of the culture or climate of the organization may result, at the minimum, in the organization not optimising its performance, and, at the extreme, in polarization and severe ideological cleavage. It behoves anyone who wishes either to manage or to introduce change into an organization to understand fully its normative base and the meanings which members attach to the organization. Moreover, the formal authority structure is only one aspect of power within an organization, and, if taken in isolation from other factors, is not a very important one. Organizational leaders often introduce structures in order to solicit desired human responses. It seems that structural innovations fail in their purpose when the formal pattern of interrelationships is not consistent with members' norms and values and the organizational culture which they produce over time. The understanding of human behaviour must simultaneously involve the concepts of meanings, norms and power as well as that of structure.

If power relations and the conflicts which they may generate are to be more fully understood, then possibly the analysis of power needs to be better located, both in terms of internal organizational mechanisms and in terms of the organization's relationship with the environment, in a wider structural, historical and cultural context. The intention here, however, is not to present a new political model of complex organizations, but to suggest ways in which past conceptualizations might be modified in the light of the GIAE experience.

The analysis has been critical of certain aspects of both GIAE in particular and the CAE system in general. This criticism should not detract from what has actually been achieved by GIAE and other colleges. Members of GIAE have developed an organization which offers the people of Gippsland educational opportunities which have never existed before in the region, and local residents would be educationally and socially worse off if the Institute had not been created. If the institution is to fulfil its full potential as a multi-purpose, multi-level regional college, then change may be necessary. In Chapter 10 it was suggested that such change could best be achieved through viewing GIAE as both providing and facilitating educational opportunities within the region. Rather than the Institute guarding its autonomy against external threats and sectoral rivalry, a climate of close and useful association between GIAE and a variety of other educational institutions might be created. GIAE should not be forced into a centralized mould of higher education but assessed in terms of its unique and individual relationship with its social environment.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

The full publication details for the references to published material are given in the Bibliography. Full references to archival material are given in the notes.

Chapter 2

1 Interview with Daryle Nation and Ron Parry, tape recording, January 1973, GIAE Library, Churchill.

Chapter 3

1 See LVE, 17 July 1980; SEC, 1980.

2 See Australia. Department of Industry and Commerce, 1980; Australia. Department of Labour. Advisory Committee, 1980; LVE, 17 July 1980; Shire of Morwell, 1981; SEC, 1980, 1981; University of Melbourne. Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, 1980; Victoria. Department of State Development, Decentralization and Tourism, 1981.

Chapter 4

1 Resolution in relation to the establishment date of the school of engineering and applied science submitted by N.J. Lobley on behalf of the Graduates Association for consideration by Council, February 1973, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

2 Mr M. Hopper, Comments on Mr Lobley's motion, 26 February 1973, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

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6 Mr C.B. Boehm to Secretary, Yallourn Technical School Council, 8 October 1946, Yallourn Technical School Collection, GIAE Library, Churchill.

7 Interview between Mr D. Nation and Mr R. Parry, tape recording, GIAE Library, Churchill.

8 Mr R.D. Dixon, Meeting with Minister of Education—Notes of President, 22 March 1929, Yallourn Technical School Collection, GIAE Library, Churchill.

9 Mr Charles Ford to Hon. L.H.S. Thompson, Minister of Education, 15 June 1978, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

10 Notes for members of the deputation, undated (May?) 1933, Yallourn Technical School Collection, GIAE Library, Churchill. The Minister of Education and the Chief Inspector visited Yallourn on 24 and 25 May 1933.

11 Mr R.D. Dixon to Secretary of the SEC, Melbourne, 26 May 1933, Yallourn Technical School Collection, GIAE Library, Churchill.

12 Dr J. Milton-Smith's attitudes were reported in an interview with a local newspaper (LVE, 12 October 1978), and attracted criticism from some local citizens (see LVE, 19 October 1978).

Chapter 5

1 Mr M. Hopper, Submission to the Post-Secondary Education Committee on behalf of the Council of the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education, April 1977, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

2 Interview with Mr M. Hopper, 2 September 1980, Churchill.

3 Interview with Mr J.J. Robertson, 14 October 1980, Churchill.

4 VIC Buildings Committee, Yallourn Technical College request for approval to appoint architect, 6 March 1968, VIC Site Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

5 The remaining members of the Joint Committee were Mr H.T. McKern (Chairman), Managing Director, H.T. KcKern and Sons; Dr P.G. Law; Mr J.L. Kepert, Director of Technical Education; Mr J.D. Andrews, Australian Paper Manufacturers; Mr C.V. Hore, Chief Technical Officer, Housing Commission; Professor K.H. Hunt, Dean, Faculty of Engineering, Monash University.

6 Dr P.G. Law, Development of a new college of advanced education to meet the needs of Eastern Victoria, memorandum for the Minister, 24 July 1968, VIC Site Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

7 Interview with Mr J.J. Robertson, 14 October 1980, Churchill.

8 Interview with Mr M. Hopper, 2 September 1980, Churchill.

9 ibid.

10 ibid.

11 ibid.

12 ibid.

13 Letter to Mr D. Seath, President, Students Representative Council, 13 October 1969, Board of Studies File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

14 Minutes of Council Committee Meeting, 24 March 1969, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

15 Interview with Mr M. Hopper, 2 September 1980, Churchill.

Chapter 6

1 Mr J.J. Robertson, Capital and recurrent funds allocations—1973–75 triennium, statement by the President of Council to the VIC, 26 May 1972, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

2 Statement by Mr R. Urie, VIC representative on GIAE Council, Minutes of Council Committee Meeting, 27 June 1972, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

3 Minutes of (Special) Council Committee meeting, 30 May 1972, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

4 Mr J.J. Robertson to Sir Willis Connolly, President, VIC, 2 June 1972, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

5 Interview with Mr J.J. Robertson, 14 October 1980, Churchill.

6 Interview with Mr M. Hopper, 2 September 1980, Churchill.

7 ibid.

8 Interview with Mr G. Smart, Assistant to Director, 3 March 1980, Churchill.

9 Interview with Mr K. Hamilton, Senior Lecturer in Applied Science, 25 August 1980, Churchill.

10 Interview with Mr M. Hopper, 2 September 1980, Churchill.

11 Minutes of Council Committee Meeting, 15 August 1972, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

12 Mr M. Hopper, Establishment of teacher education facilities in the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education, draft paper to Council, 24 October 1972, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

13 Minutes of Council Committee Meeting, 24 October 1972, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

14 The Minister's press release is quoted in *VIC Newsletter*, April 1973, pp.1–2.

15 Woods (1978) observes that Law had the opportunity to bring the teachers colleges into the fold of the VIC in the late 1960s. However,

according to Woods, Law believed at the time that teacher education would corrupt the vocational and applied nature of the CAEs. In the mid 1970s the VIC wanted amalgamation with the SCV, but even by later 1972 it had lost the chance to control the development of the teachers colleges, which is one factor in the organization's demise.

16 From the beginning, a merger between the SCV and the VIC was mooted. The SCV was established under the control of an interim Senate which was to last for a period of five years in order to keep options open for alternative administrative arrangements for higher education in Victoria.

17 *Report of the Committee of Inquiry to Make Recommendations on the Most Appropriate Co-ordinating Authority for the Merged Colleges in Bendigo and Ballarat and for the Colleges of Advanced Education in Gippsland and Warrnambool, November 1974. Report presented to the Minister of Education by the Committee.*

18 Mr C. Ford to Mr J.C.M. Balfour, Minister for Fuel and Power, 15 May 1974, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

19 Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education Union statement on future development and affiliation of GIAE, 27 September 1974, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

20 Minutes of (Special) Council Committee Meeting, 27 September 1974, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

21 Interview with Mr C. Ford, 12 November 1980, Traralgon.

22 With the establishment of the SCV, and the Federal Government assuming funding responsibilities for teachers colleges, the Victorian Education Department lost direct control of teacher training. However, as Ely (1976, p.6) points out, the Education Department retained, and exercised with vigour, the right to declare which training qualifications it would recognize for purposes of employment. The Institute's School of Education has had all of its courses approved, accredited, and recognized by the relevant state and federal authorities, except for the four-year concurrent B.Ed. secondary. Since the School's inception, there has been a battle between the School and the Education Department over the recognition for employment purposes of this degree.

23 Interview with Mr M. Hopper, 2 September 1980, Churchill.

24 Mr M. Hopper, Tertiary capital estimates for 1973–1975 triennium, December 1970, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

25 VIC, Report on the development of general studies courses in the affiliated colleges, 27 May 1970.

26 VIC, Policy on the development of degree courses with major studies in humanities, 23 July 1973.

27 Institute achievement, Minutes of Council Committee Meeting, 24 May 1976, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

28 Interview with Mr M. Hopper, 2 September 1980, Churchill.

29 Interview with Mr K. Hamilton, 25 August 1980, Churchill.

30 Interview with Mr M. Hopper, 2 September 1980, Churchill.

31 T.W. Nest and D. Nation, *A Survey of Gippsland Form Five and Six Students: Their Destinations and Generalised Course Categories*, GIAE, July 1970.

32 Proposed multi-disciplinary degree course, preliminary submission, March 1972, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

33 Interview with Mr M. Hopper, 2 September 1980, Churchill.

34 Minutes of Council Committee Meeting, 25 March 1974, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

35 Mr M. Hopper to Mr L.P. Fricker, 22 November 1974, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

36 Mr M. Hopper, Some comments on the purpose of the institute, and its implication in fixing priorities and defining the responsibilities of teaching staff, 22 November 1974, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

37 Academic Board report to Council (considered by Council in March 1975), Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

38 Minutes of Council Committee meeting, 16 December 1974, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

39 Mr M. Hopper to Dr J. Milton-Smith, 21 January 1975, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

40 Mr P. Morgan, Rise and fall of Gippsland B.A., *Aasvogel* (GIAE Student Newspaper), March 1975.

41 Interview with Mr B. Coleborne, 19 November 1980, Churchill.

42 Mr I. Spark, President's Report 1973, GIAE Staff Association, (December ?) 1973.

Chapter 7

1 Mr M. Hopper, Management Board, 3 March 1975, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

2 Interview with Mr E. Brew, Executive Officer, GIAE Student Union, 31 October 1980, Churchill.

3 ibid.

4 Interview with Mr C. Ford, 12 November 1980, Traralgon.

5 Kuhn (1970) was one of the first authors to demonstrate the function of intellectual paradigms as a source for structural and philosophical divisiveness. While Kuhn dealt mainly with the scientific disciplines, it is worthwhile to expand the notion of paradigmatic conflict to take account of some aspects of social action within an entire academic organization.

6 Metzger (1978) and Clark (1980) make the useful distinction between academic freedom and scientific freedom. According to Clark (1980, p.8), '"academic freedom" is an ideological reflection of the problems of the broad academic profession as it is quartered in specific educational institutions'; while "scientific freedom" reflects the problems of the specialized scientific fields regardless of their institutional setting.

7 The case for a Bachelor of Arts degree to be offered internally and externally at the GIAE and its implications for decision making within the School of Business and Social Sciences, 10 December 1974, Academic Board Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

8 Mr M. Hopper, Academic boards and committees, 12 March 1975, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

9 Mr K. Hamilton, Autonomy and accountability, 26 November 1975, GIAE Staff Association.

10 Mr Hopper, Autonomy and Accountability—Commentary by the Director, 17 May 1976, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

11 In fact, very few females within the whole of the Institute hold positions of responsibility. The top echelon of the administration is entirely male, and amongst the academic staff, only five females hold positions of lecturer or above.

12 Mr M. Hopper, 17 May 1976, op. cit.

13 Harman (1978, p.201) notes that 'a long history of departmental links has had a marked influence on attitudes, and particularly on how administrators and senior academics view questions of institutional autonomy' within the colleges.

14 Mr M. Hopper, 17 May 1976, op. cit.

15 Mr B. Dunstan, Secretary, GIAE Staff Association to the Secretary to Council, 29 April 1977, Council committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

16 Minutes of Council Committee Meetings, 23 August 1976 and 2 May 1977, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

17 Minutes of Academic Board Committee Meeting, 14 September 1977, Academic Board Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

18 Letter (undated) attached to Minutes of Council Committee Meeting, 5 September 1977, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

19 Minutes of Council Committee meetings, 6 August and 3 September 1979, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

20 Mr P. Harwood, President, GIAE Staff Association, Submission to Council, 24 September 1979, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

21 Clark (1980, p.4) notes that 'it is generally less costly to leave the institution than the discipline, since to leave the discipline is to surrender hard-won expertise and identity'.

22 Minutes of Council Committee Meeting, 3 December 1979, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives. Churchill.

23 Mr M. Hopper to Mr P. Harwood, 9 November 1979.

24 Personal observation, 1980, Churchill.

25 Mr R. Klose, Notes re proposed 1981 enrolments, memorandum to the Executive Committee, 1 September 1980.

26 VIC, Responsibility, qualifications and experience desirable for tertiary teaching staff, 13 November 1968.

27 Conversation with Council member during dinner break of Council Committee meeting, 7 July 1980, Churchill.

28 Dr J. Lawry to Mr M. Homes, 25 January 1979.

29 Interview with Mr D. Forrer, 20 November 1980, Moe.

30 Mr M. Homes, Visits to schools by academics, memorandum to Mr C. Hos, Head of Visual Arts, 11 July 1980.

31 The *ad hoc* meeting occurred on 18 July 1980. Personal observation.

32 Mr C. Hos, Student recruitment, memorandum to Mr M. Homes, 29 July 1980.

Chapter 9

1 *Relationship of the Victoria Institute of Colleges and the State College of Victoria*, 8 December 1976. Report presented to the Minister of Education by the Ministerial Committee.

2 The Committee was chaired by Emeritus Professor P.H. Partridge, formerly of the Australian National University and the Universities Commission.

3 The Chairman of the sub-committee was Mr S.F. Newman.

4 Interview with Mr M. Hopper, 13 November 1980, Churchill.

5 *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. H. of R. 108, 21 February to 13 April 1978, pp.1207–8.

6 Mr F.J. Glynn to Professor P.H. Partridge, 6 April 1978, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

7 Professor A.S. Buchanan to Mr F.J. Glynn, Acting Secretary, SEC, 11 April 1978, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

8 Interview with Mr G. Bates, 26 November 1980, Morwell.

9 The other members of the Working Party were Mr C. Crellin, Energy Manager, APM; Mrs N. Ford, former member of Board of Commissioners and, later, member of the Council on Advanced Education; Mr I. Miller, Director, Gutteridge, Haskins, and Davey Pty Ltd; Mr R. Weatherhead, Chief Engineer, Distribution, SEC.

10 Personal observation.

11 Meeting of Course Advisory Committee in Engineering, 9 June 1980. Personal observation, Churchill.

12 School of Engineering, First year full-time student intake. Information prepared for visit of VPSEC Engineering Working Party, 30 April 1980.

13 Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

14 Minutes of Council Committee Meeting, 10 April 1981, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

15 A full scale coal-to-oil conversion scheme would certainly have a significant impact upon the Latrobe Valley. It is likely that full-scale coal-to-oil ventures both within Australia and overseas will be postponed for some years. The rate and extent of development within the Latrobe Valley will depend on much more than the existence of natural resources.

16 GIAE media release, 1 May 1981.

17 GIAE media release, 24 September 1981.

18 Cheaper or less recalcitrant labour, proximity to major markets and the interests of foreign governments in basing development locally are factors which limit the development of the Latrobe Valley and block its transformation into the true Ruhr of Australia.

19 The notion that the resources under the ground accrue to the owners of the land on top has never applied in Australia.

20 Interview with Mr G. Thomson, 31 July 1980, Traralgon.

21 Interview with Mr C. Plowman, 14 August 1980, Newborough.

22 The extent of the actual threat to GIAE's autonomy posed by Deakin University is open to question. None the less, the perceived threat is very much a part of GIAE's social reality.

23 The Chairman of the Committee was Dr D.S. Wishart.

24 The Chairman of the Committee was Dr D.S. Wishart.

25 Dr G.J. Allen to Mr M. Hopper, 20 May 1980, External Studies Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

26 Minutes of Council Committee Meeting, 7 July 1980, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

27 GIAE media release, 19 July 1980.

28 Watson phoned during a meeting of the Director's Advisory Committee and the Director reported the details of the conversation to the Committee, Personal observation, 24 July 1980.

29 Co-ordination of distance education at the higher education level in Victoria, 28 October 1980.

30 Memorandum to members of Academic Board from Dr P. Kerr and Dr P. Rayment, 26 November 1980, Academic Board Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

31 Minutes of Academic Board Committee Meeting, 10 December 1980, Academic Board Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

32 Mr R.H. Grahame, Acting Secretary, Commission on Advanced Education to Mr C.N. Blake, Business Manager, VIC, 12 January 1977, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

33 Dr P. Law to Dr E.S. Swinbourne, Chairman, Commission on Advanced Education, 21 January 1977, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

34 Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

35 Mr I. Baker, Secretary, Conference of Principals of Victorian Technical Colleges, to Senator J.L. Carrick, Minister for Education, 16 March 1977, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

36 Joint statement from the Yallourn Technical College and the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

37 Mr M. Hopper, Comments on the telegram of 10 March and letter of 16 March 1977, 30 March 1977, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

38 Joint statement, signed by President, GIAE Council, and President, YTC Council, December 1978, Council Committee File, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

39 Interview, 15 September 1981.

Chapter 10

1 Several times during the period of field research, the Community Services Officer arranged meetings between selected members of academic staff, the student counsellor, and careers teachers from various schools to discuss educational problems in the Gippsland region. This particular meeting was held over drinks and dinner at a hotel in Bairnsdale on 15 July 1980. Personal observation, July 1980, Bairnsdale.

2 Report of meeting of the Joint Committee of the Councils of GIAE and YTC, September 1979, GIAE Archives, Churchill.

3 Interview, Mr R. Hamilton, Senior Lecturer in the School of Applied Science, August 1980, Churchill.

4 Models which members of GIAE may wish to look at in particular are those of Griffith University, Qld, and the University of Keele in the United Kingdom.

5 Mr P. Morgan, Gippsland studies, undated. Copy available from the author.

6 One aspect of most North American community (or junior) colleges which will probably never be introduced on a wide scale into Australia is local financial control. In the USA, since local communities pay for the operation of their community colleges, the community has a good deal of say over what is taught in the colleges. For an excellent case study of one North American Community College in relation to the local administrative context, see Clark, 1960.

7 Interview, Mr P. Harwood, October 1980, Churchill.

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Auchmuty, J.J. *See also* Australia. National Inquiry into Teacher Education.

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Twenty years ago, the Martin Committee recommended the diversification of higher education in Australia through the development of colleges offering sub-degree courses with a strong vocational and technological emphasis. This led to the creation of colleges of advanced education (CAEs).

Using methods drawn from the sociology and anthropology of complex organizations, this study examines the relationship between the internal structure of the Gippsland Institute of Advanced Education and the structure of the environment in which it is located. It attempts to balance ethnographic detail with general social theory in the context of an analysis of the development of the Institute. The findings of the study extend to the character, function and role dilemmas of CAEs in general and of regional colleges in particular, and show that the value of their contribution is clear.

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